

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

Winter, 1963

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Cuban Crisis: News management and press independence

Pacific Coast: The newcomer from New York

Ohio: How Lima became a two-newspaper town

*... to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms,
to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to
help define—or redefine—standards of honest, responsible
service . . .*

*... to help stimulate continuing improvement in the pro-
fession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent.*

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Winter, 1963

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Why Hiss?

The incident of "The Political Obituary of Richard M. Nixon" covered few with glory. As a piece of journalism, Howard K. Smith's half hour on the American Broadcasting Company on November 11 was far from his best. It offered interviews with defenders and antagonists of Nixon, films and photographs from Nixon's career that the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* called "ferocious," and comment summarizing Mr. Smith's adverse judgments on the Nixon contributions to politics. It bore all the earmarks of being what it was—a last-minute substitution for a scheduled program on the armed forces.

The controversy about the program centered on a period of less than three minutes—a filmed appearance of Alger Hiss, the former State Department official convicted of perjury nearly thirteen years ago, in great part through the efforts of Nixon. Hiss's comments on Nixon's motives were far more restrained than some of the dialogue of the recent California campaign, and as historical documentation were of a mild interest at this point approximately equal to remarks by, say, Dave Beck on the motivation of Senator McClellan.

But the reaction would have led one to believe that ABC had begun a series called "Three Cheers for Alger Hiss." Many complainers who had not yet seen the program called in; some protested to stations that had not carried the program. Walter H. Annenberg, publisher of two Philadelphia newspapers and *TV Guide*, not only caused his New Haven and Philadelphia television stations to cancel the program but also directed that a reference to the cancellation be deleted from a network news broadcast carried by the stations. The *Chicago Tribune*, although it had originally neglected to review the program, splashed indignation on its front page. There was proclaimed, in short, a faith that a television appearance by Hiss could warp minds that print could never penetrate.

Then came the matter of the recalcitrant sponsors, a small band that gained publicity far out of proportion to their weight in the economics of television. The Schick Safety Razor Company wanted to break a million-dollar contract with ABC. The Kemper Insurance Company tried to withdraw \$500,000 in advertising, involving in this case a news program.

The Pacific Hawaiian Company of California, makers of a fruit punch, canceled, with fanfare, plans for a tiny number of spot advertisements.

These actions bring to mind the suggestion made last spring by Donald I. Rogers of the *New York Herald Tribune* that advertisers seek out newspapers that are a good fit ideologically. His idea was greeted with scorn, advertisers being uninterested in newspapers with superior ideology and inferior audiences.

In television, the argument goes, sponsors are more closely identified with a specific program, and they seek comfortable environments for their messages. It should be perfectly clear by now, however, that any form of journalism, as opposed to entertainment, on television simply cannot be part of the comfortable environment. Howard Smith himself put it most bluntly: "We're in the news business. I'm not running a Sunday school."

Nobody has asked Schick, or Kemper, or Pacific Hawaiian to sponsor Howard K. Smith, nor need they sponsor any television program in particular. All that is asked is that they not mistake their investment in television—for which, one trusts, they receive ample air time—for commissions as licensors of television journalism.

On Mississippi

Details are still coming to light of the intricate negotiations among federal and state officials that preceded the outbreak at Oxford, Mississippi, on September 30. (See, for example, Fletcher Knebel's complex account in *Look* for December 31.) Even with the record incomplete, however, it is possible to look over the journalism of that unhappy confrontation and find a mixed record: courage beyond the ordinary, and vacillation or supineness; impartiality under stress, and failures of judgment.

Coverage North and South

The *Review's* editors examined a week's sample of newspapers—twenty-five in all—comparable to the national group analyzed six years ago in a civil liberties study by the Association for Education in Journalism. In addition, a group of the larger dailies in Mississippi was included. On the whole, the results were heartening. No paper—whatever its editorial

policies or its columnists' views — disregarded the basic disciplines of American journalism in presenting the news. In every case, the headlines were summaries — not exhortations or commands. The main stories were, for the most part, written in the even hand of the wire services. It is possible, as always, to quarrel with the choice of individual stories. One that caught the editors' eye was the major headline in the *Birmingham News* of September 29 — a warning by Senator Ellender of Louisiana that blood might flow in Mississippi. On that same day, papers in Mississippi were concerned with harder news: the federal contempt action against Governor Barnett.

On balance, the sample made it clear that a reader in any part of the country could find in his newspaper the main trend of events.

The minority

A few of the newspapers in Mississippi went well beyond the call of duty. Having observed the lesson elsewhere in the South that an official policy leading to violence is a bad policy, they strained to preserve the peace. Perhaps the stoutest representative of these few was Ira Harkey, Jr., editor and publisher of *The Chronicle*, a twice-weekly paper of 6,000 circulation in the Gulf Coast town of Pascagoula. After Governor Barnett's television talk of September 13, Harkey printed an editorial accusing him of a "dangerous use of the century's most inflammatory issue in an attempt to solidify Brand X power in Mississippi." Harkey concluded: "It is not 'the Kennedy administration' that is making demands upon Mississippi. It is the United States of America, it is democracy itself, it is the whole of humanity. These surely will not back down either. Barnett has asked them to force us to comply. They will, and the process can ruin Mississippi." For these words, Harkey became the target of a gang that had been led to Oxford on September 30 by the sheriff.

Later, many a paper called for law and order, but Harkey had made them seem slow or equivocating.

Broadcasters' role

It is becoming increasingly clear that one of the keys to what happened in Mississippi was the use of radio and television. Mississippi has television in 75 per cent of its homes and radio in 89 per cent; all of the state's daily newspapers, if delivered one to a home, would reach only 46 per cent. Probably more by instinct than by statistic, politicians and others directing Mississippi's resistance used radio and television for their exhortations. The character of some of these addresses was such as to inspire the Federal Communications Commission to investigate stations

Publication days missed, 1962

The Cleveland Press	27
THE PLAIN DEALER	32
The Detroit Free Press	29
The Detroit News	29
LONG ISLAND STAR-JOURNAL	19
MILWAUKEE SENTINEL	57
MINNEAPOLIS STAR	99
Minneapolis Morning Tribune	116
Herald Tribune	23
Journal American	22
New York Mirror	23
DAILY NEWS	29
New York Post	18
The New York Times	23
New York World-Telegram	19

THE SPORADIC DAILY PRESS

in Jackson and Columbus, especially the stations' broadcasting of appeals for what they called "peaceful assemblies." Whatever the FCC's ultimate findings, the *Review* must doubt the propriety of a station's calling a political meeting, peaceful or otherwise. And it doubts doubly the advisability of such action in the unpredictable atmosphere of the state in the last week of September.

Too hot to sponsor

One dismal side of the national broadcast coverage of the Mississippi crisis was what Jack Gould of *The New York Times* called "a quiet drop-out" of sponsors of special network news programs. The loss in revenue to the networks, according to *Broadcasting* magazine, was \$400,000. Mr. Gould's comment was to the point: "Sponsors like to take a bow for helping

PASSING COMMENT

keep viewers informed, except, it seems, in the case of one of the most important moral issues to face the country since the Civil War."

Discipline

In the tear-gassed night on the University of Mississippi campus, reporters were called on again to demonstrate physical courage in the face of disorder and heedless violence. One died. Others, carrying photographic equipment that was an invitation to attack, were assaulted. The stories about the night of rioting disclose a profile both brave and moving—vivid, firm reporting that was as straightforward when written for the *Charleston News and Courier* as when written for *The Washington Star*.

Darts and laurels

Observed without mourning: the passing of NBC's weekly drama, "Saints and Sinners," an attempt to portray New York newspaper work as it never was.

The *Riverside* (California) *Press-Enterprise* has recently run a remarkable series, "Race Relations in Riverside, a Study in Subtlety," which faces without blinking a subject few papers of comparable size (54,000) summon the energy and courage to cover.

The *Review* notes the departure of John Denson of the *New York Herald Tribune* for points west. The Denson editorship of eighteen-plus months created a new *Tribune*, but also gave the paper an unhealthy habit of riding selected political stories into the ground, as in the cases of the Billy Sol Estes scandal, the call-up of reservists in 1961, and the cancellation of the *Tribune* by the White House.

The December 17 broadcast in which three network reporters served as conversationalists with the President looks as though it will prove to have been the first of a series of "rocking-chair chats." The new format combined information, informality, and coherence better than does either a press conference or a set speech. All sides seemed to agree that the program was very effective—for the President. Without casting aspersions on the reporters, one finds oneself wondering what the effect would have been if re-

porters had drawn lots and those chosen had turned out to be Clark Mollenhoff, David Lawrence, and Sarah McClendon.

The *Review* applauds the report on wire-service and television election coverage prepared by Emmett Dedmon of the *Chicago Sun-Times* for The Associated Press Managing Editors association. It strikes a candid note in recognizing the fact that in total-vote tabulation last November, The Associated Press ran behind the networks simply because the networks put more men on the job.

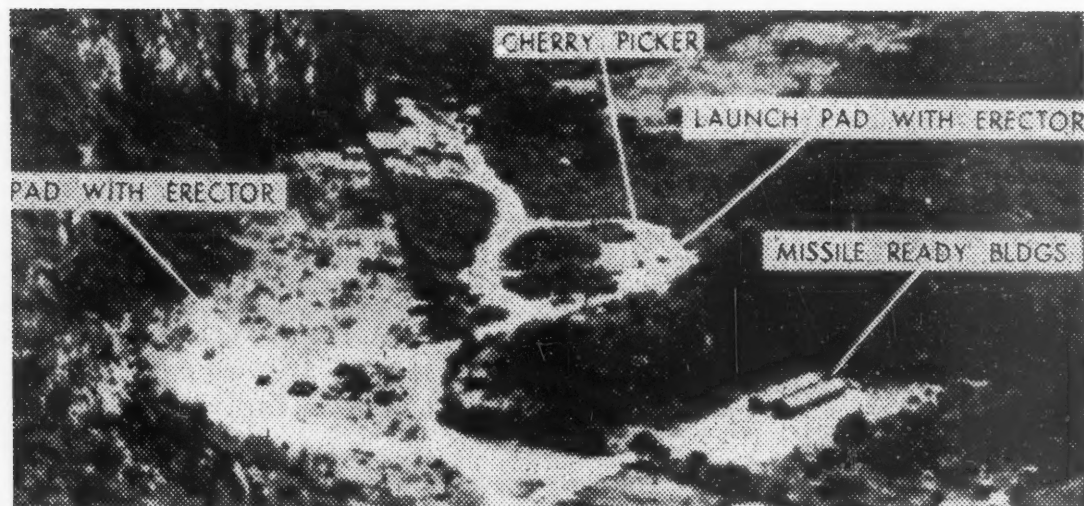
On pages 11 and 12, the *Review* reprints comments on the Charles Bartlett-Stewart Alsop article about the Cuban crisis in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Uniformly, the statements condemn the Bartlett-Alsop methods in retailing an unattributed accusation against Adlai E. Stevenson. If there has been any significant published comment praising the journalism of the article, the *Review's* editors have been unable to find it. They are not surprised.

Noted with satisfaction: The dismissal of charges against James E. Mills, editor of the *Birmingham News*. The editor had been charged with violating Alabama's corrupt practices act because he had printed an election-day editorial advocating a change in the form of city government. The law, which forbids election-day electioneering, was judged not applicable to newspapers and thus not available to city officials as an instrument of retaliation.

After a year

This issue, the fourth, completes the first-year cycle of the *Review*. For those who have asked, the editors report that the paid circulation of the publication is 7,000. There is no reliable estimate of the additional hand-to-hand circulation, but it seems to be considerable. Even more heartening to the editors has been the encouragement they have received from those who witnessed the *Review's* pilot effort in October, 1961, and have professed to see improvement since, and a measure of importance in the *Review's* work.

However grateful for this approval, the editors must still regard the *Review* as a publication scarcely out of its chrysalis stage, still seeking ways to do its job more effectively and thoroughly. The editors hope that an increasing number of readers will volunteer their suggestions, their information, and, when appropriate, their material for publication. In return, the *Review* offers modest rates—and thanks.



Press independence and the Cuban crisis



In the wake of the international crisis last fall, an old issue arose cast in new dimensions: What are the obligations of journalism and government in a national emergency? Here Ben H. Bagdikian devotes an extended "Washington Letter" to assessing the conflict.

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

The day after he was inaugurated, Abraham Lincoln was told that Federal troops at Fort Sumter would be starved out in a few weeks. During this tense prelude to the Civil War neither side wanted to fight, but plainly a conflict of wills was at hand. On April 8, 1861, the President informed the South that he was sending a fleet with food for Union troops. He waited four days for the fleet to move and for the Confederate response to decide the issue of war or peace. While he waited, he imposed a now familiar regime (described by Allan Nevins): "A fog of secrecy closed in upon government offices. All the departments, by strict Presidential order, debarred reporters. . . . New York correspondents told Sam Ward that the Cabinet was as impenetrable as the Venetian Council of Ten:

"The oldest rats and foxes can glean nothing'."

The showdown at Fort Sumter brought the bloodiest war in American history; one of every forty-four Americans was a casualty.

In any nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union, an American President of the 1960's must assume the possibility of 90,000,000 American casualties, or one of every two Americans. Unlike Lincoln, President Kennedy would not have a four-day trigger of final commitment, but one that is almost instantaneous.

This is relevant to any discussion of the controversy of recent months over the government's management of news during the Cuban crisis—or, more accurately, over the government's admission that it had managed the news. For the first time in history a single individual has it within his power to decide the fate of the human race. While a President's finger is

on the nuclear trigger, his dialogue with the citizenry is likely to be strained. Thermonuclear diplomacy has altered not only relations between governments, but relations between any government and its people.

The central dilemma for a free society is that in a world of missiles and nuclear bombs, technology demands that we grant our Presidents godlike powers of decision; yet history has convinced us that politically it is unsafe to let any mortal play God.

The dilemma quickly involves the press because government management of news inevitably accelerates as the Cold War and weaponry accelerates. The naked core of diplomacy, as ever, is power; but power for the first time is absolute and its application instantaneous. Senator John F. Kennedy pointed out in 1959 that "in the days of the crusades, it took months — sometimes years — of sailing by sea and marching overland for two worlds to collide." Today the Minuteman missile is in the air fifteen seconds after the button is pushed; fifteen minutes later it has destroyed a city. Once this nuclear commitment to war is made there is no turning back, even if everybody wants to. Thus diplomacy rather than war is the last chance to exercise national will while avoiding catastrophe; it is on the penultimate dialogue between antagonists that the fate of civilization hangs.

Yet words alone are not enough to convince; even verbal threats of missilery have been used too often to be decisive. The last stages of a diplomatic showdown between nuclear powers depend less upon the intrinsic value of words than on the total psychological impact that one glowering society has on another. It is in the presentation of the face of a society to its potential enemy that control of the news becomes pertinent.

"Orchestration" was a word much heard among the President's strategists during the Cuban crisis. This meant the broad and intricate coordination of all the military and political moves and the expected countermoves. Secrecy and control were the instruments of this orchestration. It was found necessary to keep even the fact of planning a secret, once the United States had decided it must make the first overt move on discovering the Soviet Union's missile sites in Cuba. The ability to make this move by surprise would make it possible to arrange the crucial exit by which the opponent could retreat without being tempted to start a war. So important was secrecy that when it became known that Andrei A. Gromyko, leaving for Moscow, would hold a press conference a few hours before the President's television speech to announce the naval quarantine of Cuba, the White House seriously considered an immediate announcement of action. In the end the White House waited.

Secrecy also concealed the preliminary arrange-

ment of Western force before the challenge. Washington wanted the North Atlantic Treaty forces to go on a maximum missile alert, which meant putting American-controlled nuclear warheads on the NATO-controlled missiles aimed at the Soviet Union. This would prepare them for instant firing — and minimize the chance for recall. General Lauris Norstad, Supreme Commander of NATO, objected successfully. In the absence of secrecy, such preparations could bring war when neither side wanted it, by way of "the self-fulfilling prophecy." Or as one strategist put it: "He, thinking I was about to kill him in self-defense, was about to kill me in self-defense, so I had to kill him in self-defense."

After the President's speech proclaiming the blockade, it became advantageous to keep the terms fuzzy. A large Russian merchant fleet was headed toward the American naval vessels. It is highly likely that if a Russian ship had been sunk, World War III would have been begun. The Soviet Union had no way of knowing whether the United States would sink a ship. The United States preferred not to start a thermonuclear war but it also preferred not to give any assurance on that point. The fact is, the initial American plan was to disable the rudders of the ships carrying offensive cargoes, thus leaving the vessels afloat but under United States naval control. The Soviet Union, not knowing, turned back its fleet.

A hard-and-fast, openly stated ultimatum, though it appeals to the wild, the simple-minded and the death-wishers, can be self-defeating. In a missile age, a nation that knows that its adversary will destroy it if it has not complied with a humiliating demand by noon the next day may choose to fire its own missiles at 11:45. Thus, the initial demand to Moscow was for it to dismantle and remove the missiles in Cuba before they became operational. This done, the United States then turned to a demand that the IL-28 bombers be removed. Then the United States focused on Russian troops in Cuba. It was the salami tactic, often attempted in the past by Moscow. The total plan required secrecy and piecemeal revelation.

Secrecy was not the only type of news management. News played a positive role in the crisis. Conventional diplomatic communications are dangerously slow, as the President noted in his later advocacy of more direct communication with the Kremlin. During the Cuban crisis, it took four hours, with luck, for a formal message to pass between Kennedy and Khrushchev. Any such message had to be carried physically from the head of state to the local embassy, translated, coded, transmitted, decoded on the other side, and carried to the other leader. When it takes fifteen minutes for a missile to make the trip, four hours is

Also, watch for a "double crisis"...in Berlin AND Vietnam, involving us on two fronts, with reds using native forces in both places. There are indications that reds are readying an offensive in Vietnam, and probably will spring it in a month or so...after the rainy season.

All this is one reason Kennedy will NOT move against Cuba.

It's one reason, not the only reason. He wants to have the decks clear for action in Berlin, should it be necessary to go in and slug it out. Or for Vietnam, if that erupts. Kennedy thinks Cuba is not a menace, thinks Khrushchev will not make Cuba into a base that can hurt the U.S., or give Castro nuclear bombs...or make any provocative move against us.

Out on a limb: The period of the Cuban crisis was tough on speculators: Above, from the Kiplinger Washington Letter dated October 20, two days before the blockade announcement. Below left, from the syndicated Allen-Scott Report, October 20. Below right: Item printed in Scripps-Howard newspapers on December 1. Scripps-Howard stuck by the story, but the Pentagon said all unidentified flights had turned out to be American.

PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV is making his third trip to the U.S. just before Thanksgiving. He is scheduled to arrive in New York on Nov. 20 to speak at the United Nations General Assembly and confer with leaders from all over the world.

Khrushchev's mission, which will last more than a week, could mean peace or war over Berlin.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 1. — Russian reconnaissance planes based in Cuba have been overflying the southeastern United States.

Scripps-Howard Newspapers can report this as fact—verified from independent sources—despite Pentagon denials. The Russian planes have been spotted over Georgia and South Carolina.

too long for the words that might keep it in its silo.

In the last stages, much depended on news as a system of communication between heads of state. News conferences, public announcements and briefings were used by each side for the benefit of the other. Newspapers on Friday, October 26, were led to print stories on the imminence of bombing or invasion, when in fact (in the words of one official quoted by *The New York Times*) "invasion was hardly ever seriously considered." Insofar as it could, the United States controlled the impact of these messages by controlling the conditions of their release and by giving them the authority necessary to assure publication.

During the Cuban crisis the Kennedy Administration demonstrated the most sophisticated, skillful, and precisely planned control of news in peacetime history. It was the result of years of Cold War practice, much of it fumbling: the unexpected reaction when

President Truman casually answered a news-conference question during the Korean War to the effect that the United States was always considering the use of atomic bombs; the disorganized handling of the U-2 episode during the Eisenhower administration, the ambiguities of the Bay of Pigs fiasco in 1961; and the political and weapon-promoting speeches of military men in recent years. All of these taught officials the penalties of losing control of information (and thus of apparent policy). Such botches also convinced much of the public that the government had a legitimate stake in unifying its own voice.

These lessons are not casual any more. In the war games acted out by strategists in anticipation of trouble in various parts of the world, the press officer and news management are part of the exercise.

When the crisis had eased, Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, said (on

October 30): "The generation of news by actions taken by the government becomes one weapon in a strained situation. The results in my opinion justify the methods we used."

Sylvester had also imposed a rule (three days before) requiring Defense Department officials to report conversations with newsmen or to have a third party present. Robert Manning, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, imposed a similar rule on October 31 and then rescinded it. (At that time the State Department correspondents made a formal protest; Defense correspondents did not.) Reaction to the Sylvester statement among newspapers was violent and, some of it, inaccurate because it overlooked the fact that Sylvester had referred to generation of news "by actions" of the government—a technicality but an important one.

In a sense the Sylvester statement was refreshingly candid. Any reporter or editor who does not take for granted that the government, or any experienced source of news, always tries to manage information is naïve. What was bothersome, of course, was the implication that control as a principle is good.

Representative John E. Moss, chairman of the House subcommittee on government information, said, "Government pronouncements during a conflict of wills obviously have an effect upon the outcome of the conflict, but to imply that the entire government information process is part of the maneuvers in international relations is to ignore the workings of our democratic system." This came as close as anyone to stating the problem accurately but even this was after the fact. The "entire government information process" already is "part of the maneuvers in international relations."

At the heart of the matter, much depends on whether "the entire government information process" becomes identical to the entire press information process. The government has the great advantage of original possession of the information. The test is whether the press can perceive the main lines of government action, and can understand them, independent of the government, for short periods.

Murray Snyder, Sylvester's predecessor at the Pentagon, and the magazine *Editor & Publisher* proposed that a high-level committee of newspapermen be taken into the government's confidence to advise all other newsmen what not to print for the sake of national security. Benjamin McKelway, editor of *The Washington Star* and president of The Associated Press, correctly called the idea "zany."

The Snyder proposal, like others, seems to be influenced by the British practice of issuing a list of subjects the government would rather the newspapers

would not discuss. In my journalistic heaven nobody gets in who fails to see the basic differences between Britain and the United States. For one thing, the British Official Secrets Act punishes not only the government passer of information but the newspaper receiver, and that act is not likely to be enacted in the United States. For another, Britain has a national press centralized in London where the important editors can get into the same room. The 1,700 editors and the non-government broadcasting executives here would be as manageable under a "high level" committee unarmed by legal penalties as 1,700 mules in spring. Finally, the workings of English democracy are significantly different from the American process, in the power and independence of the British civil service, in the discipline of the political party structure in Parliament, and in the implicit if somewhat eroded acceptance of rule by an elite.

Where does this leave the American press? Does it have to choose between provoking disaster and becoming an automatic arm of foreign policy? Is it just one of the pieces on the strategic chess board? Are the speed and destruction of weapons so great that free and random communications are now a lethal luxury?

The dangers of thermonuclear diplomacy are so great as to require internal control of government behavior and talk, but the remarkable performance by the administration during the crisis demonstrates that the government indeed has the ability to protect its vital interests over short periods of time.

But over the long haul such control would be fatal to a free press and an open society. This places an obligation on the press not to fall behind in the delicate balance of skill. Many of the newspapers that protested the Sylvester statement do not work very hard to extract news. Others are tuned largely to news that is irrelevant to central problems. (One government press officer said he had been under much heavier pressure to disclose the name of an assistant secretary three days before formal announcement of the appointment than he had been to impart policy information during the crisis.) A few of the reporters who were most bitter do not have enough knowledge of their field to know when they are being managed. They seemed to be offended more by being told they had been managed than by being managed.

The press did show that it had the ability to protect its vital interest—i.e., to maintain independent sources of important news—even during the crisis. But those papers that did it best, at least as seen from Washington, were those who habitually protect freedom of information by reportorial practice rather than by editorial pronouncement.

The first important news break was a lead story on

the mood of crisis in the capital, in *The Washington Post* on Sunday, October 21, before the Presidential announcement. (The *New York Times* Washington bureau had crisis information but did not print it.) The night before, Alfred Friendly, managing editor of the *Post*, had had a dinner party where a shrewd non-governmental guest had said that earlier stops on the Saturday evening cocktail circuit had been very odd. Too many people who were supposed to be there were not, and there was some rumor. "Something big is up," Friendly was told. "I'm not sure what it is. It may be Cuba. But whatever it is, it's really big." Friendly went to the telephone and began gathering his staff and making his own inquiries. Wire services were reporting troop movements in the South, ostensibly maneuvers. Friendly got one person to admit that things were "tense and tight." A number of government officials were reported to be "at the White House" and others who should have been at Saturday

night parties or enjoying a weekend in the country were somehow unavailable. Murray Marder, *Post* diplomatic correspondent, went to the State Department and discovered extraordinary activity. The night-duty roster of persons entering the building after normal business hours bore two names at 9:30 p.m. with the notation, "C.I.A." In the corridors he ran into officers who had no explanation of why they were there. An inventory of lights under doorways showed key offices on the sixth and seventh floors occupied. (As a result of the *Post's* observations, the night-duty roster at the State Department is no longer a single sheet of paper open to the next signer but a card file under cover.)

Later in the crisis, the *Post* also sniffed out a secret letter from Khrushchev to Kennedy. Marder and a *New York Times* correspondent were invited to a White House luncheon for Chancellor Adenauer. President Kennedy provoked speculation by referring to a possible turning point in East-West relations. The two correspondents asked another luncheon guest, McGeorge Bundy, special assistant to the President, what the turning point was and Bundy said it was a secret. Marder said, "Hell, Mac, you know there are damn few secrets in government." Bundy admitted that one of the big surprises he discovered in his job was that secrets didn't last long.

"As a matter of fact," he said, "there is one big secret right now and I give it a half-life of 18 hours." Marder answered, "Don't underestimate us. You may see it in the morning paper." Given the situation at the time—the United States demand for removal of the IL-28 bombers, no public response from Moscow but the President's mention of a turning point—both correspondents guessed that Khrushchev had written a letter offering to take back the bombers. At the office Marder and the *Post's* chief of national bureau, Chalmers Roberts, called several officials with an old trick, asking, "What did Khrushchev say about the IL-28's in his letter to the President?" Most of the officials declined comment, but a few bit and answered, in effect, "I can't tell you what he said in his letter about the bombers," thereby confirming the letter and its subject matter.

A story that there had been a Khrushchev letter about the IL-28's was in the bulldog edition of the *Post*, which hits the street at 9:30 p.m. Minutes later Bundy called the *Post* to complain that the story did not make clear that Khrushchev had placed certain conditions on his offer to remove the bombers. The final editions had the substance of the letter.

One moral of this story is that when heads of state make public announcements for the benefit of each other or for strategic purposes (as the "turning point"

New York World-Telegram & Sun
U.S. Gives Reds Deadline To Dismantle Cuba Bases
Wall Falls, Kills 6 Firemen
 15 Injured In Blast At Maspeth
 Kennedy Planning Steps to Use Force Unless Work Halts
 Khrushchev Still Weighs U.S. Trip
 Surprise Is Double For Twin Expectants
 African Airfields Russians Ink-Bomb U.S. Embassy
 Soviet Govt Refusing to Quit

Pressure by news: Information released during the crisis sought to give the impression that drastic action by the United States was imminent. One result is seen in the *New York World-Telegram & Sun* for Saturday, October 27.

presumably was) then the press, if sufficiently knowledgeable and acute, can make its own inferences. Another moral is that secrecy is always threatened by serendipity. Bundy admitted to Marder that the secret he mentioned at the luncheon was not the Khrushchev letter.

Occasionally a whole secret leaked out, such as the highly classified report on U Thant's conference with Castro, the substance of which appeared on the Associated Press ticker two hours and thirty-two minutes after it had been circulated among top officials of the State Department. Endre Marton of the AP did it with a few well-placed telephone calls. For those who feel the AP should not have used this (the government says it could have ended negotiations) it is well to remember that it is the government's role to maintain secrets, not the press's.

To the contention that the press is irresponsible in printing such secrets, let it be agreed that this is sometimes the case, but for the press to cease this practice while government people continue to talk would have two serious flaws: It would not stop informal, "dinner-party" circulation of such secrets, from which foreign diplomats and lobbyists can extract information but the American public cannot; more seriously, it would then make press information indistinguishable from government pronouncement. There seems little question that if the press signed a formal truce with government on information, government discipline on keeping secrets would deteriorate.

Controversy over the Stewart Alsop-Charles Bartlett article in *The Saturday Evening Post*, recounting some National Security Council proceedings with derogatory implications by an unnamed official against Adlai Stevenson, is not an argument against such journalism. It does crystallize a potent danger of tight internal control of government information: Powerful figures within the government can make a selective relaxation of this control to serve their personal rather than national ends.

In times of catastrophic peril the government of even an open society has a need to control its official information, but aside from the philosophical problems involved there are two quite practical ones that ought not to be overlooked.

First, the reasons in favor of suppressing a particular piece of news are always demonstrable and therefore seem more convincing. It is seldom easy to demonstrate the advantages of openness and harder still to predict them, partly because the consequences of openness take longer to emerge and partly because they are more subtle. But the advantages of control should not be overestimated, even in critical situations. Dr. Fred Charles Iklé of the Rand Corporation

and Harvard, who is not a sentimentalist, has pointed out that in several crisis situations Russia, despite tight controls, has bungled opportunities and made clumsy moves. It is not far-fetched to trace these Russian failures, at least in part, to over-rigidity in the interpretation of official intelligence, poor communication of this intelligence within Soviet society, and the reduction in the flow of ideas that comes when important data are closely held.

Second, governments tend to exaggerate their own knowledge. In her remarkable new book, *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision* (Stanford), Roberta Wohlstetter states a major cause of American failure at Pearl Harbor: Certain kinds of official information were so tightly held that officials who were supposed to act did not learn what they needed to know from officials who made policy. Furthermore, the best newspapers provided necessary information to military commanders, and often had better information and sounder judgment than officials who had access to secret cables.

"The real uncertainties in political prediction arise from the great complexity of the international interests involved and consequently the knowledgeability of a good news reporter is more helpful than access to a few top secret cables," Mrs. Wohlstetter writes. "A reporter will usually have available a multiplicity of public evidences of the secrets contained in the cables themselves, since it is only in the last days of a crisis that a government will attempt total censorship."

The other side of the Pearl Harbor coin has quite a different warning for those who become too used to tight control. Japanese military leaders planned and executed the surprise attack on the United States without the knowledge of four key members of the cabinet.

Since Pearl Harbor, the American government has learned a lot about security and information control, with a culmination last October. For the press to equal the new skill of the Kennedy Administration in controlling news it will not be enough to pass resolutions asking the government to be more open-handed. American journalism will have to produce more competent reporters and editors to make intelligent inferences even when the Establishment is not talking.

Bargaining from a position of strength applies to government and press, as well as to nations. Furthermore, it is the sophisticated correspondent with depth in his field who is disinclined to be silly or wild in times of crisis.

In 1680 Roger L'Estrange celebrated his appoint-

ment as Licensor of the Press in London with the statement:

A newspaper makes the multitude too familiar with the actions and councils of their superiors and gives them not only an itch but a kind of colorable right and license to be meddling with the government.

Politics in the United States is founded on the itch to meddle with the government. This kind of politics is under constant danger of being overwhelmed by the Cold War and thermonuclear diplomacy, producing pressure for the public to keep out of government. The ultimate answer, of course, is to stop playing the thermonuclear game—but it takes a minimum of two not to play and until that occurs

there will be periods when the usual communication from government will become tightly controlled.

The answer is not to eliminate the itch to meddle but to make “the multitude too familiar with the actions and councils of their superiors” during the long periods between crises. The press can thus produce a counter-pressure against the inevitable government temptation to extend its tight controls from the final terrors of nuclear maneuver to the periods between.

The press can do this by high performance every day, conditioning the public to the expectation of competent and significant news, a national habit that will do more to protect freedom of information than citing the First Amendment in an occasional editorial.

The Stevenson affair: non-admiration

The Cuban crisis was followed by a group of “inside” or summary stories—a series by Relman Morin of The Associated Press, a long article in The New York Times for November 3 by nine staff members, a brink-of-war narrative by Fletcher Knebel in Look for December 18. Overshadowing them all was “In Time of Crisis,” in The Saturday Evening Post of December 8. The authors were Stewart Alsop, the Post’s Washington editor, and Charles Bartlett of The Chattanooga Times, both friends of President Kennedy. Most of the comment centered on the governmental implications of the Post article—the possibly unhealthy effects of leakage from confidential meetings. Here the Review offers a selection of comment on the article as a piece of journalism viewed in other organs of journalism. The editors were unable to find printed comment that was more favorable.

From Time, December 14, 1962:

The *Post* piece has much in common with the Washington fact-fiction novels that are now clogging the best seller lists. It purports to narrate the secret deliberations of “ExComm”—an abbreviation for the National Security Council Executive Committee that

was unknown even to members of the group until it was repeated paragraph after paragraph by Bartlett and Alsop. The *Post* story is filled with Druryisms and some language that seems to be left over from the magazine’s serialization of *Fail-Safe*. Leaders negotiate “in the shadow of nuclear war” and make “the live-or-die decisions when the chips are down.” As clichés mount, the reader half expects the next phone call to be answered by old Seab Cooley.

From “Notes and Comment” in The New Yorker, December 15, 1962:

The earth shook a bit last week because two Washington journalists, writing in the *Saturday Evening Post*, quoted someone to the effect that during the Cuban crisis in October, Adlai Stevenson had “wanted a Munich.” Munich is the Bavarian city where, in September of 1938, the British Prime Minister concluded a shameful deal with the German Führer, and thereby, it is generally believed, made inevitable the Second World War, which cost humanity over twenty million lives and countless other sorrows. If there is anything this country can do without, it is an ambassador of whom it could be said that he “wanted a Munich.” But who said this of Adlai Stevenson? President Kennedy? Dean Rusk? Dean Acheson? Robert Kennedy? Robert McNamara? The two journalists, whom the *Post* describes in display type as “top reporters,” do not give us a name. Fair enough—or at least we’re hardened enough to this sort of thing not to expect a name. But was it someone who spoke with authority? Was the man there, in the White House, when Stevenson let his dreadful wish be known? We quote the quoters: It was “a non-admiring official who learned of his [Stevenson’s] proposal.” We get the point about “non-admiring.” The man didn’t think much of Stevenson, which is



Conrad in the Denver Post

"We'd like to do a chronology on what happened during the Stevenson crisis!"

no crime and doesn't mean his ears are bad. But evidently the "official" *wasn't* there. He merely "learned of" Stevenson's "proposal." A "proposal" is a scheme offered for serious consideration. Stevenson says he never made the "proposal" attributed to him by the *Post*. But there are now several million people who could be said to have "learned of" it. We non-admire this kind of journalism.

From "Satevepost," editorial signed by Gerald W. Johnson in The New Republic, December 29, 1962:

It is perhaps mere trifling at this late date to call attention to the impact of the Stevenson affair upon the art of journalism. What has jarred the craft is that writers regarded as master-craftsmen went out on a limb on the simple word of an unidentified public servant without, so far as is known, a shred of documentary evidence. A cub, of course, has always swallowed anything. But a change has come over the spirit of American Journalism when experienced reporters will publish grave charges on the verbal assurance of a politician....

Once upon a time it was thought that a reporter whose attitude toward journalism was, "It's a living," ought to get into a "public relations" outfit just as rapidly as possible. But it seems that we are not that corny any longer. It's smart to let one politician use your columns to crack the skull of another politician whom he doesn't like. It's modern to howl with laughter at that comic character, Joseph Story, for the idiocy in his woeful verse:

"Here shall the Press the People's right maintain
Unawed by influence and unbribed by gain."

So be it. History has long recognized that one generation's saints are the next generation's clowns, and grandpap's pride is the butt of grandson's jest; so perhaps a journeyman *emeritus* should not presume to set contemporary standards.

Nevertheless, the old boy will do it, come what may. His standards may be outmoded but he is too set in his ways to change them. To the end of his days he will find a sting in the line, "The clinking of the guinea helps the hurt that honor feels." He will continue to admire Benjamin Franklin, founder of the *Saturday Evening Post*, not because he cleaned up enough to retire at 42, but because he had the catch-polls on his heels in Boston and a price on his head in Philadelphia, for refusing to pimp for the politicians then in office. Ben was never a Sunday-school model, God knows, and he was obviously not fitted to be chief executive of the *Saturday Evening Post* today; but there was that in him which makes some ancient gaffers take pride in being members of his craft. And it wasn't the way he collared the coin.

"Times change," quoth Holingshed, "and we are changed with them." But not all, and not altogether. Some there are, possibly more than a few, so stiff-necked that they regard the denigration of the craft of journalism as more lamentable than anything that has happened to Stevenson or Kennedy, or even (but tell it not in Gath) to the Democratic Party.

FINAL

DAILY NEWS

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

Vol. 44, No. 139 New York 17, N.Y., Tuesday, December 4, 1962 WEATHER: Mostly fair and cool

5¢

ADLAI ON SKIDS FOR PACIFIST STAND ON CUBA

Story on Page 8




Taking Off. Three loadings of Soviet H-28 jet bombers are taken to dock of Russian freighter (above), standing back in Russia from Cuba. Photo is from Reuters by Defense Department, one taken from U.S. Navy patrol plane which spotted ship off the southern coast of Cuba. There are the last bombers to go back. —Story on page 8

'I Killed Her.' Dr. Kenneth Chastin, 35, wife, Susan, 37, because of persistent suspicion that he should report to police with her, murdering her mother-in-law, he said, "I told her I did plan to go back to Cuba after graduation. He said, 'You know the man, I killed her.' —Story on page 8

New York News (December 4) liked the story

Charles Laughton Dies... Life Story

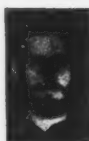
NEW YORK CITY
METROPOLITAN DAILY 10c
EDITION OF TOWN & VILLAGE

Vol. XVI, No. 11 NEW YORK, N.Y., MONDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1962

EXCLUSIVE!

Copyright 1962

DONOVAN OFF TO CLINCH CUBA PRISONER DEAL



Premier Fidel Castro
waiting for Donovan.

Copyright by Metropolitan Daily edition of Town & Village, 1962

LAGUARDIA FIELD, Dec. 16—James B. Donovan took off from here in a private plane tonight, bound for Havana, a reporter for the Metropolitan Daily learned. The trip was designed to wrap up terms for the release of the 1,100 Cuban prisoners before Christmas. Donovan, who is counsel for the Cuban Families Committee, hurried to the plane without a word to his aides. Attempts to reach Seniors Bertha Beretta and Alvaro Sanchez, committee leaders who accompanied Donovan on his trip to Havana early this fall, were not successful. It was believed that they, too, were on their way to Havana.

Telephone calls by this newspaper to Premier Fidel Castro and Foreign Minister Raul Roa met the word only that they were unavailable. However, evidence was mounting that a deal to free the prisoners was under way. The fate of the prisoners has weighed

(Continued on Page 2)

LATE NEWS—RACING—TV PROGRAMS—WALL ST.

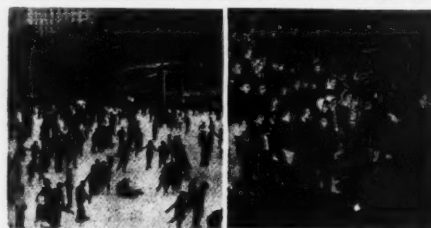
The reader's choice
N. Y. Daily Report 10¢

Monday, December 17, 1962 IL PROGRESSO ITALO-AMERICANO Telephone: VIlton 9-1888

EXCLUSIVE

DONOVAN FLIES TO BRING BACK CUBA CAPTIVES

STORY ON PAGE 2



YULE CHEER ON ICE. It was beginning to look a lot like Christmas in Central Park yesterday as skaters skimming over Wollman Memorial rink passed to turn to glide along by St. Remond's Church Choir of its music under the direction of Father Connel. Annual Christmas caroling and pageants took place in many of the city's churches yesterday.

The Metropolitan Daily and the New York Daily Report were expanded editions of a neighborhood weekly, Town & Village, and a foreign-language daily, Il Progresso Italo-Americano. On December 17, both claimed the same "exclusive" exploit (above). For the most part their coverage was severely limited by lack of staff and standard wire and picture services. Still, both — the Metropolitan Daily in particular — continually expanded and departmentalized to provide a semblance of the normal range of newspaper features. Advertisers, however, were notably slow to arrive. During December, each was selling about 150,000 copies a day.



THE BITTER INTENSITY OF THE EASTERN storm is reflected in the face of this Central Falls, R. I., fireman, who was called out last night to battle a fire in an unoccupied dwelling. The blaze threatened a nearby structure causing five families to flee. The fireman was not identified.—(Wirephoto).



COLD NIGHT ON A HOT FIRE: Fireman coated with ice fights 4-alarm fire last night at 125th Street and Third Avenue. A plumbing supply house was gutted.

The strike-born tabloids were hard up for pictures. Things were so bad, in fact, that one had to transplant an ice-coated fireman all the way from Rhode Island. At left, the original photograph distributed by AP, as printed in the Kansas City Star on December 31. At right, the photograph as it appeared in the Metropolitan Daily (Town & Village) on January 2.

Complete National And World News-Racing Results
- Classified Ads. - 4 Pages of COMICS

FIVE BOROUGHS COVERAGE
8★ FINAL BROOKLYN DAILY 10¢
Brooklyn's Picture Newspaper

RED 'A-BOMB' PANICS WORLD

Story On Page 1
3 Children Heater Victims
Story On Page 3



TRAGEDY. The widow of Ambassador Ben and Mrs. Ben are in the foreground. The children are in the background. The family was killed in a plane crash.

The Brooklyn Daily (above) and The Brooklyn Eagle, both in existence before the strike, stepped up their press runs and coverage. The Daily frequently put misleading headlines on insubstantial stories. (The headline here was based on a Swedish report of a Russian nuclear test.)

VIET CONG DOWN 5 U.S. COPTERS

SAIGON, Dec. 5 (UPI)—Five American helicopters were shot down by Viet Cong forces in a battle in the southern part of South Vietnam today, U.S. military officials said. The helicopters were shot down by Viet Cong forces in a battle in the southern part of South Vietnam today, U.S. military officials said.

Communists Cite

SAIGON, Dec. 5 (UPI)—Communist leaders today cited the shooting down of five U.S. helicopters as a major victory in the struggle against the American presence in South Vietnam. They said the helicopters were shot down by Viet Cong forces in a battle in the southern part of South Vietnam today, U.S. military officials said.

Guinea Ban

CONAKRY, Guinea, Dec. 5 (UPI)—Guinea today announced that it had banned the importation of American goods and services. The ban was announced by the government of Guinea today, U.S. military officials said.

New NATO

PARIS, Dec. 5 (UPI)—France today announced that it had joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The announcement was made by the French government today, U.S. military officials said.

Chinese Take Over

BEIJING, Dec. 5 (UPI)—China today announced that it had taken over the government of Tibet. The announcement was made by the Chinese government today, U.S. military officials said.

Foreigners Against

PARIS, Dec. 5 (UPI)—Foreigners today expressed their opposition to the American presence in South Vietnam. The opposition was expressed by a group of foreigners today, U.S. military officials said.

Oil Quota

WASHINGTON, Dec. 5 (UPI)—The United States today announced that it had set a quota on the importation of oil from the Middle East. The quota was set by the U.S. government today, U.S. military officials said.

Cash

PARIS, Dec. 5 (UPI)—France today announced that it had received a large sum of cash from the United States. The cash was received by the French government today, U.S. military officials said.

Police and Protest

PARIS, Dec. 5 (UPI)—Police today clashed with protesters in the streets of Paris. The clash was between the police and the protesters today, U.S. military officials said.

THANT BARS KATANGA TALKS

GENEVA, Dec. 5 (UPI)—Thant Banerjee today announced that he had barred Katanga from participating in the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. The announcement was made by Thant Banerjee today, U.S. military officials said.

Russia and China Dispute

MOSCOW, Dec. 5 (UPI)—Russia today announced that it had a dispute with China over the border. The dispute was between Russia and China today, U.S. military officials said.

New Year's Greetings

PARIS, Dec. 5 (UPI)—France today announced that it had sent New Year's greetings to the United States. The greetings were sent by the French government today, U.S. military officials said.

CAP MIAMI

MIAMI, Dec. 5 (UPI)—Florida today announced that it had received a large sum of cash from the United States. The cash was received by the state of Florida today, U.S. military officials said.

North Sea Litter

OSLO, Dec. 5 (UPI)—Norway today announced that it had found a large amount of litter in the North Sea. The litter was found by the Norwegian government today, U.S. military officials said.

NIC's

PARIS, Dec. 5 (UPI)—France today announced that it had received a large sum of cash from the United States. The cash was received by the French government today, U.S. military officials said.

British to

PARIS, Dec. 5 (UPI)—France today announced that it had received a large sum of cash from the United States. The cash was received by the French government today, U.S. military officials said.

Planned to

PARIS, Dec. 5 (UPI)—France today announced that it had received a large sum of cash from the United States. The cash was received by the French government today, U.S. military officials said.

Most dismal of the strike dailies was the New York Daily Press, despite its access to UPI through its parent publication, the New York Economist. Above: a news page.

BOSSIP

Celebs.

BOSSIP The latest in celebrity news and gossip. This section includes photos and stories about famous people.

Deals, Duos, Flings, Pfffts!

Deals, Duos, Flings, Pfffts! This section covers the latest in dating, relationships, and celebrity couples.

Life

Life This section features various lifestyle and entertainment stories.

Life, which has a year-end hiatus in publication, used its presses to put out a local edition, sold only on newsstands in New York. It had 72 pages, devoted in great part to large pictures of local and world news. Although such pages as the ones above were devoted to filling in for the missing newspapers, the total effect was very Lifelike.

WEEK OF
JAN. 14, 1963

50c

CHAPMAN	NEWS	McCLAIN	JOURNAL AMERICAN
COLEMAN	MIRROR	NADEL	WORLD TELEGRAM
KERR	HERALD TRIBUNE	TAUBMAN	TIMES
WATTS	POST		

reviewing

presented by

DAVID MERRICK and DONALD ALBERY

Also Reviews of "THE BEAUTY PART" and
"TIGER, TIGER, BURNING BRIGHT"

THE CAST

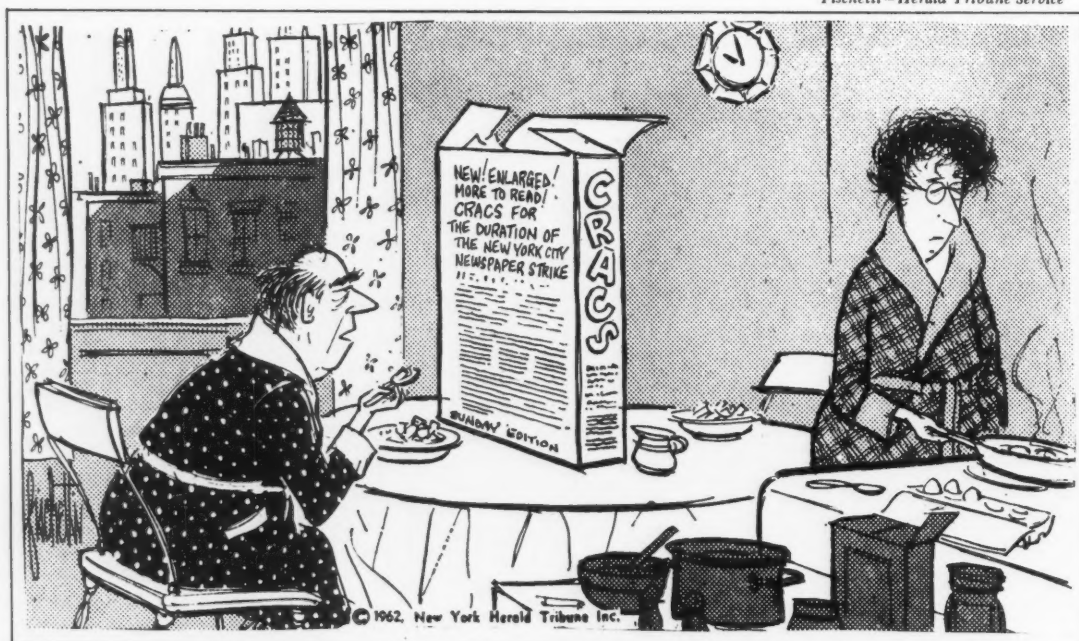
THE CAST	
<i>"HONEY" A new musical by Leland Rose, directed by Peter Segel, mounted by John Rosen, choreographed by Eve Rose, costumes designed by Jack F. Wilson, with music and lyrics by the writers. Opening at the Imperial Theatre.</i>	
George Truitt	Brown Broekhoff
Al The Watchdog	Williamly Goldsmith
My Beautiful, My Beautiful	Hope Nichols
My Precious, My Precious	Kate Markham
Old Man A Friend	
Al The Undertaker	Barry Humphries
My Beautiful, My Beautiful	Norma Carroll
My Precious, My Precious	Theresa Davis
My Precious, My Precious	Tommy Allen
Al The Undertaker	
My Beautiful, My Beautiful	Frank Bell
My Precious, My Precious	Daniel Jones
My Precious, My Precious	George Brown
My Precious, My Precious	Alma Pearson
My Precious, My Precious	Dorothy Seeger
Al The Undertaker	
My Beautiful, My Beautiful	Godfrey Cambridge
My Precious, My Precious	Johnnie Johnston
My Precious, My Precious	Donna Bonnell

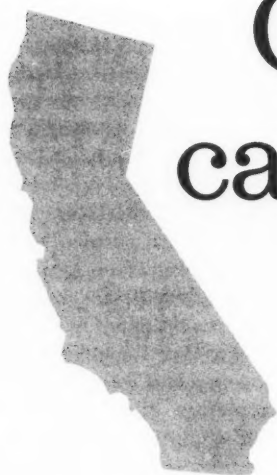
Chapman

[illegible]

The strike produced ephemeral publications devoted to special reader interests. The high-priced Firstnite printed newspaper critics' reviews.

Fischetti—Herald Tribune Service





California campaign reporting

Richard Nixon's now-famous denunciation of the press followed a campaign in which his and his opponent's efforts were covered voluminously. In this article, Professor Walter Gieber of San Francisco State College draws his conclusions on the reporting, as seen in the state's major dailies.

By WALTER GIEBER

At 10 a.m. on November 7, hours after television and newspapers had announced his defeat, Richard M. Nixon formally conceded his loss to the incumbent governor of California, Edmund G. Brown. Striding into a conference room in a Los Angeles hotel (much to the surprise of his press secretary), he said: "...and now that all the members of the press are so delighted, I'd like to make a statement of my own."

The assembled reporters scribbled and the television cameras rolled and Nixon's "farewell address to the press" became part of the record.

Several California publishers entered mild rebuttals of Nixon's criticisms. Their feelings were hurt; California dailies had supported Nixon editorially by a ratio of 7 to 3.

But the working press—particularly the reporters who had doggedly crisscrossed the state in the campaign—never made a public reply. Instead they told their stories, sometimes with glee, mostly in anger, to other newsmen. The reporters' summation, accom-

panied by a shrug, was usually cryptic: "Sure, we reported what he said."

That conclusion is the key to the performance of the press—its achievements and omissions—in the 1962 California campaign. The coverage was an exercise in "objective" or "mirror" reporting.

Most stories on the campaign were event-oriented; the reporter told only what was going on in the arena. California reporters acted as witnesses for the reader, reporting essentially what the reader would have heard had he been present. But they did not always raise the questions the reader would have had if he had been present or, necessarily, draw on their own expert knowledge.

Such conveyer-belt reporting—platform to newspaper to reader—has obvious disadvantages:

It is unbalanced. It does not interpolate what a candidate said on the same topic last week.

It is superficial. It does not tell the reader that cutting the state's taxes cannot possibly put a chicken in every pot by the first of the year.

It tends to give greater prominence to the wild charge, the emotional audience, and the force of numbers, even though the candidate may be speaking at the entrance to a supermarket on Saturday morning.

As had been predicted, it was the roughest and dirtiest battle since Upton Sinclair's "End Poverty in California" campaign of 1934. But the major California dailies reported it without compunction. Each

charge and countercharge, each sweeping promise and piece of bombast was duly fed into the news columns in its unrefined state.

In the 1958 race between William F. Knowland and Brown, the candidates did not publicly splatter each other. The 1958 campaign was occupied with issues and the press reported issues. Similarly, the coverage of the 1962 campaign for state superintendent of public instruction underlined issues because the two contestants talked issues. But when the campaign is name-calling, mirror reporting faithfully reflects its shallowness and confusion.

Other examples of the deficiencies of mirror reporting are many:

¶ Nixon several times made statements that clearly conflicted with the facts of California's tax structure, its laws, and its constitution. The press reported his statements "objectively," never proffering correction. ¶ Governor Brown promised he would not raise taxes. As he spoke, his appointees on the state board of education were planning a new and needed statewide tax for schools. The story, a small one, appeared on the nonpolitical pages of only a few newspapers.

¶ Nixon had difficulty getting support from some leading California Republicans, some of whom deserted to the other camp. The press did not say why.

¶ The former Vice President attempted to use the Cuban crisis by giving advice to President Kennedy. But it was a *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* editorial (reprinted in the *Sacramento Bee*), not a California analyst, that reviewed the inconsistencies of Nixon's statements on Cuba between 1960 and 1962.

¶ Democratic dissidents kept silent during the campaign. The press thus remained silent too, not mentioning the well-known rivalry between the assembly and the senate, and the bitter struggle between the liberal Democrats and the "regulars."

¶ Charging that California's economy was in terrible shape, Nixon attacked Brown as a bad manager. Brown produced official reports of glowing state solvency. Which was true? The press never attempted an independent assay. Six weeks after the election, Brown reported that the state's coffers were low.

¶ Both candidates welcomed California's population boom, soon to send the population above New York's. Brown even declared a state holiday for December 31 to celebrate the victory. Then both candidates turned the pages of their manuscripts and the reporters followed along: Nixon promised to slash state taxes and Brown praised his administration's record of economies and vowed not to raise taxes. No article pressed the real question: How does a state provide swelling masses with schools, welfare help, recreation,

highways and other public services with lower taxes?

Despite all these carpets left unlifted, the California metropolitan dailies generally made a good record of covering the campaign. The sheer volume of coverage helped.

And sheer volume is not a bad yardstick in judging coverage of Coast politics. Portions of the California press were once infamous for blacking out candidates. This time there was plenty of copy.

Former Senator Knowland's *Oakland Tribune*, still a Republican bulwark in a Democratic area, provided sober, colorless and factual political news. Democrats complained that the political editor, Don Thomas, tried some partisan tricks, but it must be noted that his worst bite came when he dug into Democratic skulduggery at a time when Democrats were getting the benefit of heavy coverage on injunctions sought against Republican pamphlets.

The *Los Angeles Times*, under Otis Chandler, deployed a platoon of reporters to provide massive coverage. Two of its reporters, Richard Bergholz and Carl Greenberg, are almost puritanical in their insistence on absolute independence and on segregating themselves socially from their sources. Bergholz is a persistent reporter and kept asking questions. According to other newsmen, he asked persistently about the alleged involvement of Nixon in a loan from the Hughes Tool Company to Nixon's brother because Brown kept bringing it up. Nixon went to Chandler and demanded that the publisher remove Bergholz. Bergholz, shifted to the Brown campaign, was replaced by Greenberg, who was equally tough-minded.

(Nixon, in his farewell, said he had never complained to a publisher or an editor about a reporter. Greenberg was singled out in the farewell as the man "who wrote every word that I said...fairly...objectively.")

By no means was the performance of the California press of consistent quality.

The usually sprightly *San Francisco Chronicle* ran remarkably listless political copy. The newspaper, according to working newsmen, was not inclined to either candidate; its endorsement of Nixon was tepid at best. But the *Chronicle's* "family Republicanism" showed in several stories carrying the byline of its political editor, Earl C. Behrens.

The *Sacramento Bee*, second only to the *Los Angeles Times* in volume of political news, never hid its abiding dislike of Nixon, hammering at him day after day in editorials. In addition, the *Bee's* daily lead political story, written by Herbert L. Phillips, unabashedly favored the Democratic cause. Phillips wrote, in effect, a political column, but the reader

had no way to distinguish it from other political articles that were straight "mirror" reports.

But in general the reporting of the campaign was both objective and copious. This combination produced an odd effect. The "mirror" ultimately did reflect something underneath the surface.

Nixon's campaign, for instance, was based on the idea of portraying an aggressive, powerful leader of proved national stature. Until the Cuban crisis pushed the campaign off the front page, speeches, texts, and yards of columns of newsprint conveyed this idea to the California voters in Nixon's own words. It transmitted the image diamond-sharp, conceivably too hard and bright for the voters' tastes. In contrast, the "mirror" showed Brown as a friendly, bumbling, unthreatening politician, familiar as an old huarache.

The stir over the pamphlets accusing the Democrats of Communist leanings provides another example of how "mirror" reporting told its tale.

Newsmen believed that the Republicans were helping or at least winking at the distribution of the material. This suspicion did not get into the papers. But the pamphlets themselves were described. The Republicans, disavowing responsibility, charged that the material had been planted by Democrats. This was reported. One newsman got a pamphlet at a Republican campaign meeting and asked the Republican state chairman how. The Republican all but called him a liar. This too went into print.

The effect on the reader was apparently the effect gained from watching two wrestlers work out in the mud. He can get confused over who is who, but he picks a Good Guy and roots for him. The program notes—that is, the press—showed Brown to be a not-too-sharp contestant but nicer.

In his final campaign appearance—an election-eve appeal on television—Nixon showed that the doggedness of the press had told on his patience. He took up the rumors of the Hughes loan, which he charged Brown had spread through friendly reporters. True to the tenets of mirror reporting, the *Los Angeles Times* and other newspapers carried the accusation on election morning.

As part of his peroration, Nixon said he hoped that newspapers would "recognize that if they give him [a candidate] the shaft, put one lonely reporter on the campaign who will report what the candidate says now and then."

That was roughly what the press had done, and more than now and then. As one reporter summed it up: "If there's anything dirtier than libel, it's telling the facts."

Nixon Predicts 'Fear, Smear' Democrat Drive

BY CARL GREENBERG
Times Political Writer

SANTA ROSA — A prediction that his opposition will "launch the most massive campaign of fear and smear in the history of California election" in the next five days was made Wednesday night by Richard Nixon.

As his battle against Democratic Gov. Brown intensified, the Republican candidate for governor charged that "my opponents are resorting to a desperate, last-minute scare campaign" to frighten voters.

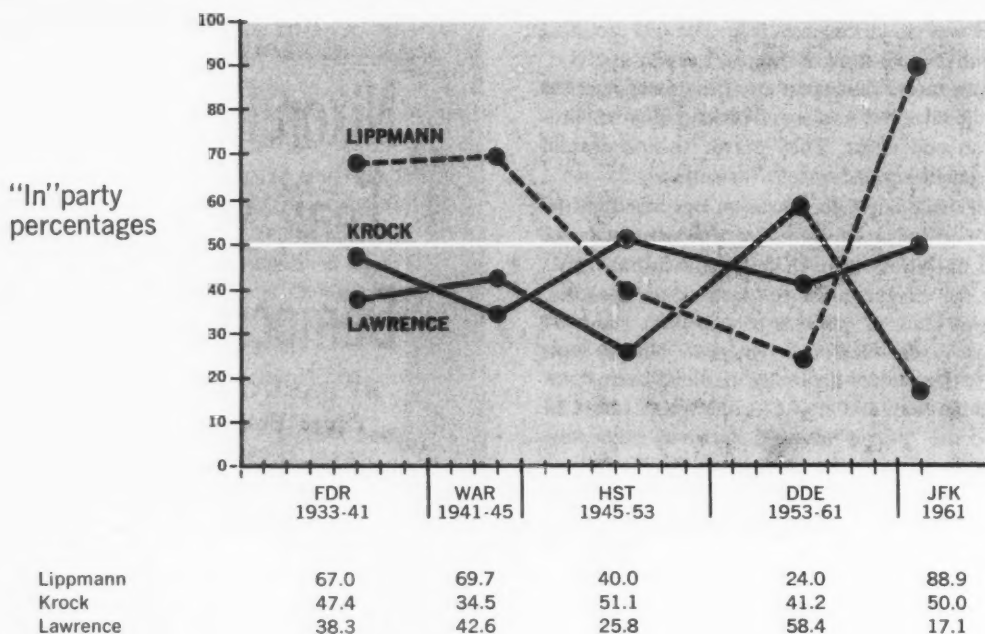
He asserted that an analysis of 4,400 questions telephoned to him on six telethons showed seven lies being used to scare voters "with a phony chamber of horrors."

Similar Wording

Nixon declared, "From the similar wording and frequency pattern, it is clear that this whispering campaign is being planned and executed by professional hatchet men."

Nixon also charged a doc-

Story by Carl Greenberg in the *Los Angeles Times* toward the close of the campaign reported Nixon's charges of October 31. The report is completely even-handed, with each paragraph following the construction: Nixon charged, declared or asserted, then a quotation.



To tell a columnist-II

In the fall issue of the Review, Eugene J. Webb, director of research at the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, compared columnists by way of the political affiliation of members of Congress who inserted their writings in the Congressional Record. That study covered twelve writers for the years 1955 through 1960. This continuation compares a smaller number over a longer time.

In the chart printed here, three veteran columnists are compared across the administrations of three Presidents and the beginnings of a fourth. The percentages shown for each writer are his share of the insertions in the Congressional Record by members of the party in control of the White House—the "in" party, which was, except in the years 1953 through 1960, the Democratic party.

The evidence is circumstantial. If a writer is consistently disposed to a single party, the scores should show a high share of "in" party insertions when that party is in power and a low proportion when it is not. Conversely, the writer who is not consistently linked to a party should not show substantial variation with a change of administration.

The *Record* was searched for articles of David Lawrence, Arthur Krock, and Walter Lippmann appearing between 1933 and 1961. (Lawrence first appeared in the *Record* in 1922, Lippmann in 1928, Krock in 1933.) Only a part of the 1961-insertions has been analyzed, but 1961 was included to provide at least an indication of the effect of one more change.

Observations: David Lawrence's scores followed the pattern one could anticipate in a politically predisposed columnist. His "in" party share was low during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, higher than 50 per cent in the Eisenhower period and below 20 per cent in Kennedy's first year.

Lippmann presents a different pattern. His writing favored neither the Eisenhower nor Truman administrations, and he receives a low "in" party score in those years. His "in" score soars, however, in 1961.

Krock showed the least variability of the three, not staying in phase with either party. Thus in the Truman years, his Democratic share is greater than either Lippmann's or Lawrence's, and nearer the middle than either. And only during the war years (1941-1945) does he slip more than 10 percentage points from a balance between parties.

EUGENE J. WEBB

The cluttered vineyard

The following article is based on the address delivered at the Paul W. White Memorial Dinner of the Radio-Television News Directors Association in San Francisco on September 22, 1962. Mr. Severeid's broadcasting career began under the direction of Mr. White, who was the vice president and general manager in charge of news for the Columbia Broadcasting System from 1933 to 1946. Mr. Severeid, still with CBS, has since compiled a distinguished record as a foreign correspondent, commentator, author, and — most recently — syndicated columnist.

By ERIC SEVAREID

Paul White's is a memory that will last with many of us because he was the first great managing editor in broadcasting, and once in a while I get a clammy feeling that he will be the last; not because there are no able, potentially great news editors today, working in our particular vineyard — in "electronic journalism," to use a rather dismal phrase that I once invented in a moment of quiet desperation — but because this vineyard has become half choked with rocks and ragweed, allowed to develop by all those elements in broadcasting who think that they have discovered a new principle, namely, that the bottle, label, and cork are more important than the wine.

The most personal form of journalism ever known, in terms of the immediate communicator and the immediate listener, has become depersonalized in its processing stages, so many are the people and the separate functions that become involved. Anyone who has ever tried to get a new program on the air, especially a new television news or public-affairs program, knows what I am talking about when I say that the ultimate sensation—after dealing with producers, directors, executives, sales people, sponsors, agents, set designers, accountants, and all others in the now huge superstructure of human beings hovering over the frail product — is the feeling of being bitten to death by ducks.

Radio in White's day, even network radio, was small compared with what we work in today; so we thought of ourselves, in those days, as working in the broadcasting end of the news business. Now the feel-

ing is that we work in the news end of the broadcasting business — big business, indeed, concerned with reality only part of the time and in only part of its corporate body.

Broadcast reporting in its beginning days did a lot for many of us as individual journalists and most of us are sensibly grateful for this, or ought to be. But I think also that editors like Paul White and many who worked as reporters did a great deal for broadcasting as an industry. Until then there had been very little, save some of the drama and music, to give broadcasting a place in the intellectual life of this country. Only after regular, day-in-and-day-out, staff-accomplished news became part of broadcasting did the networks, and then the individual stations, become separately identifiable by something besides their call letters. Networks, then stations, became known by the commentators and the reporters they kept; for the first time, they acquired identifiable spirits.

It is not presumptuous to say that without these men networks and most stations would be almost indistinguishable from one another in the public mind. We are entitled to remember this and owners and managers might keep it in mind. We are the product, and we produce this product they sell and, in my opinion, it is the best product in their showcase.

Paul White's days were simpler because nobody had yet had time to unlearn, with the help of sponsors, agencies, executives, and other eager advisers, the basic lesson of all human communication, past, present and eternal; and that is that in the beginning, as in the end, is the *word*.

Most television public-affairs and news programs are produced under the rule that a picture is worth a thousand words; sometimes it is, but I have seen a great number of news programs in which a few well-chosen words would have been worth a thousand feet of pictures. The use of words, the natural art of expression, has become, for program after program, the mere skill of carpentry, the lead-in, the lead-out, the cliché transition. Sometimes, in my bleaker moments, I will admit to the private sensation that maybe it's just as well that way; that if fine words, profound or eloquent or beautiful words are to be ushered on and off the stage by shrieking words about the condition

Thurber on "nervous-news"

*The following excerpt is from the late James Thurber's essay, "How the Kooks Crumble," originally printed in *Lanterns and Lances*, published by Harper & Brothers in 1961:*

My indictment of radio... is aimed specifically at most of the news reporters, or reporters of bad news, to be exact. These men seem to revel in news items of horror, terror, catastrophe, and calamity. I have forced myself to listen, during the past few months, to an assortment of these voices of doom which are heard all day long, on the hour or half-hour, over almost all radio stations... This kind of program usually lasts fifteen minutes, begins on a high note of cataclysm, and ends with a report of "stocks and the weather." In between, there are often as many as five or six commercials, and in many instances these are read by the reporters themselves in exactly the same tone as the calamities, thus giving the listener the spooky feeling that the deaths of scores of persons in an air crash are no more important than a new candy bar or brand of coffee. But let me set down a mild paraphrase of the broadcasts I am indicting:

"Thirty-seven persons were killed today, and more than one hundred others critically injured, in a chain collision of some twenty-five pleasure cars and trucks on a fog-bound New Jersey highway. Mrs. Marcia Kook, who yesterday shot down eleven members of her family with two double-barreled shotguns, was killed today by her estranged husband, who also took the lives of the couple next door, a mortician out walking his dog, two schoolteachers and a nun. Police say that they found two million dollars' worth of heroin fastened to her underclothing. Do you know the true glory of gracious modern living? You don't unless you have tried Becker's Butternut Coffee with that serene, heavenly flavor that you have never tasted before. Try it today and you will try it always. Arthur Kookman, sought by the police of Long Island for having blown up two churches and a nurses' home, was arrested today on a charge of filing a false income tax return. While being arraigned in court, he fired two shots at the judge, one of them killing Sergeant Jeremiah Kookberg in whose apartment police later found seventy-six shotguns, thirty-seven vacuum cleaners, forty-two washing machines, one hundred and fifty refrigerators and three million dollars' worth of heroin. You will think you're in heaven when you taste Tiddly-Bits, the wonderful new chocolate-covered candy mints, as sweet as an angel's kiss."

© James Thurber 1961

of sinuses, armpits and belly — then perhaps we had better stick to the carpentry.

Television is not just radio with pictures; in special events and some documentaries, it's a lot more than that; in news programs and many documentaries, it is often less than that. It has the speed of radio — or almost; it has the accuracy; but it does not have the comprehensiveness, the originality, or the style, because it has downgraded the word and downgraded the place of those who have the gift of words. The performer with the fastidious mind has been replaced, in considerable degree, by the performer with the chummy voice, the friendly face, or with the trick manner of speaking. The daily and weekly audiences observe a lot of character actors; they observe very few minds of character in action.

This is the terrible lack in television news programming today — analysis, explanation, commentary, whatever you want to call this ingredient of illumination. And where does a public hungry for explanation of its perplexing, dangerous world now turn in the broadcast spectrum? To very few channels or numbers on the dial, indeed, at a very few moments.

But there is a chance that broadcasting can find its way back to that higher ground and a chance that radio will show the way. There is today a vague but strong stirring of unease about all this, a growing, articulated desire on the part of many — including some network and station executives, I am glad to say — to recapture that subtle, but unmistakable and irreplaceable element, the note of *authority*. Man's large brain, like the large intestine, needs roughage.

In this process, the first thing a good many radio stations are going to have to do is to abandon their present practice of presenting nervous-news. You know what I mean: the staccato of the Teletype machine, then the breathless accents of a self-conscious baritone, fresh out of his high-school speech class, reading five quick bulletins concerning de Gaulle's latest speech, Macmillan's problem with the Commonwealth, the air crash at the state capital and the price of winter wheat on the local market. Sometimes, it isn't the Teletype noise, but four notes from a trumpet; I've even heard a violin introduction. The alleged news is not only obviously quite meaningless to the listener but to the announcer as well. I'm not sure "nervous-news" is the right phrase; "non-news" might be better. Because I get the feeling people tune in these programs just to see what hasn't happened, that atomic war or bubonic plague hasn't, after all, broken out, that the world hasn't yet spun out of its orbit. Certainly, these programs don't tell anybody what *has* happened; why doesn't the announcer just come on and say, "All's well"?

I wish the advertising side, too, would calm down. The quality of the commercial affects our work, seriously; I've seen some virtually destroy the dignity and effectiveness of a fine news or documentary program. Anybody who thinks commercials cannot be pleasant, charming, and effective in sales figures — and most people who think they cannot seem to be employed writing commercials—might look at many of those produced in England.

Now I am sounding like a far-ranging kibitzer, telling a lot of other people how to do their jobs. But the trouble is that the way they do their jobs affects, and directly, the way we do ours. I believe the practice of journalism should be left to the journalists. If and when it is, I think we'll do better at it; at the least, everybody will know where to place the blame for failures, and that will be fair enough.

The best thing we're doing now in television is the extended documentary treatment of an event, a personality, a situation, a problem. These are infinitely more difficult to do well than most critics, I suspect, even faintly understand. They are likely to be enormously expensive; at least, I know of no network making money on those packages. Some have been tremendously effective; part of the effectiveness lies inescapably in the very nature of this intimate, intensely personal medium itself. Any number of newspaper exposés could be written about a bookie joint without raising much blood pressure, but when TV dealt with one, politicians, thousands of citizens, and even cardinals hit the ceiling. Hundreds of articles are written or speeches given about birth-control problems in this country. But when TV took up the subject, the program was preceded by breathless anticipation and anxiety and followed by a deluge of mail.

The documentaries are almost *popular* now — partly, I'm afraid, because many people turn to them for fast, fast, fast relief from alleged entertainment programs, as a diversion from diversions gone stale; but mostly, I do believe, out of serious interest in the condition of their society and their world.

But I'm a little worried — I hope needlessly — about one aspect of the undoubted progress these programs represent: the business of quantity. At present, networks and stations seem to be officially judged — and to make their official claims of serving the public interest, convenience, and necessity — by the *number of hours* they devote to documentaries and other public affairs programs. This is an inadequate criterion; it's a bit dangerous. Television programming, in general, runs in cycles and gluts of imitation and this can become true of documentaries, too, until so many are

ground off the assembly line that their quality will deteriorate and viewers get weary.

Let us make no mistake about this — the intellectual community, which forms thought in this country, will go sour on the documentaries if too many appear each week, and if the techniques of putting them together become frozen and repetitive; of this, there is real danger already. As with the news programs, we have to find new ways of doing the documentary. I think new techniques will be found, and I hope new areas of subject matter will be explored. A steady diet of the sociological exposé can get awfully heavy on the public stomach.

And I would like, myself, to see them a little more sophisticated. There's too much tendency to belabor the obvious. No reporter or editor is a hero any more simply because he exposes the tricks of communism or graft in the third ward or the sufferings of racial minorities. The new and great problems of our generation are more subtle and go deeper; treating them requires a very deft hand, mature and perceptive minds. Foreign aid is not always and everywhere a good thing; nor is the work of the Peace Corps; not all Negroes in Georgia are noble at heart; not all poor countries are deserving of help or even helpable; not all juvenile delinquents are unfortunate victims of society's misunderstanding; not all dams, new highways, skyscrapers or housing projects add up to human progress. I see no reason why television's handling of such matters and many more should be less sophisticated than the most advanced work coming out of universities, professional seminars and conferences, and in many new books. For the mass of Americans, we can *lead* thought on these matters, not merely reflect it.

We have a lot of work to do. I believe in this work. I can think of no more engrossing, important, responsible manner in which to spend a working life. The responsibility is not only heavy, it's a little frightening. No group more immediately, deeply and continuously conditions the mind of this people, and as a people think, so they act, so they *are*.

As our working tools, we have been given instruments of truly magical power. No thinkers, writers, speakers, performers in all time have been given instruments so marvelous — or so potentially deadly — as these that we handle every hour of every day, in front of and in behalf of the people who will, more than any other, determine how this world shall go.

The instruments represent a sudden, fantastic change in communications. Human communicators change very slowly and we're only human. That's our problem. All we can do is keep trying.

Editorial notebook

Herd reporting

Happenstance provided us opportunity to observe the arrival in Brazil of the White House advance party arranging for President Kennedy's then-projected visit to four Brazilian cities in November. As usual, planning the details of press-radio-television coverage absorbed a major part of the group's time.

To carry U.S. reporters, broadcasters, photographers, and television crews to the four Brazilian cities, there was to be at least one giant plane from Washington. Another plane was to carry U.S. correspondents who are based in Brazil. Still another would have carried Brazilian newsmen.

In brief, a swarm of nearly 300 reporters, approximately 200 of them from the United States, would trail the President around Brazil, all reporting the same ceremonial handshakes, the same greetings, the same speeches, the same appearances by Mrs. Kennedy, and the inevitable communiqué about "a constructive exchange of views" between the two presidents. It was not clear just what a herd of 200 North Americans could do that couldn't be done just as well by, say, twenty or, at most, fifty—except for getting in one another's way and clogging communications circuits. The project brought to mind Khrushchev's 1959 visit to Roswell Garst's Iqwa farm, where newsmen made the news by the sheer crush of numbers.

Expenses of the Brazilian tour, as with most reportorial projects, would be paid by the news organizations represented. In the aggregate, possibly \$150,000 to \$200,000 would be spent on the flood of duplicating stories, photos, recordings, and film. All of this would take place in a three-day span on a continent that is too sparsely covered by press and broadcasters on any regular basis.

This particular example of herd reporting did not take place, because the President's visit was canceled in the wake of the Cuban crisis. The original plans, however, once more illustrate the colossal waste in such quick and superficial coverage by swarms of newsmen. Except for the occasional fellow with a singular writing style and great editorial latitude, how perceptibly could the swarm improve on the coverage the press associations and a radio-TV pool

team could provide? How much thorough, on-the-scene reporting and coverage-in-depth could be done in Latin America for the same expenditure in dollars and man-hours? Treading new paths would seem more productive than treading on each other's toes.

Price of celebrity-ism

Another species of herd journalism has been the swarming of those scavengers among magazines—the celebrity, confession and fan publications—over what ever remains to be told of the Kennedys. The White House has semi-officially voiced its displeasure at some of these efforts, which follow with monotony a single formula: a splashy, suggestive line on the cover to attract newsstand sales, followed inside by an innocuous article, redone from clippings. (Example: *Motion Picture's* "How Long Can They Keep the Truth from Caroline Kennedy."—the "truth" turning out to be that she is a celebrity.)

There should be little surprise on the part of the White House. Any observer of the American publicity system knows that this is where it leads. As with Elvis Presley, Marilyn Monroe, and Elizabeth Taylor, so also with the Kennedys. The *Reader's Guide*, which lists only the "respectable" popular magazines, shows ninety-four separate items under the heading of Mrs. John F. Kennedy for the period from March, 1959, to August, 1962. Many of these articles were encouraged, even authorized.

The President and his family collected their due from the processes of celebrity-ism; now the system has returned to collect its share.

It goes without saying that there is good and sound reason for not identifying individuals in the general run of news stories by race, color, or creed. There are cases, however, of carrying this healthy practice to silly extremes. An illustration is found in some of the November 14 reporting of the police hunt for Harlis Miller, a handyman sought in Connecticut for murder and rape. A late edition of the *New York Journal-American* described the wanted man, including his exact height, without mentioning that he was a Negro. So did WCBS radio's 7 p.m. news. The *New York Post*, hardly a racist paper, reported his color as an essential part of his description. The NAACP itself, we are convinced, would agree with the *Post*.

EDWARD W. BARRETT

How a town broke a newspaper monopoly

Can a town do anything when its only newspaper is sold to an out-of-town buyer many of its citizens distrust? Lima, Ohio, found a way. The author, John M. Harrison, covered early stages of the Lima story for The Blade of Toledo. He is now an assistant professor of journalism at Pennsylvania State University.

By JOHN M. HARRISON

The first issue of *The Lima Citizen* was published on July 1, 1957. Today, more than five years later, the *Citizen* not only survives but is the dominant newspaper within an Ohio industrial city of more than 50,000—a fact that makes it one of the wonders of the world of newspapers. For the *Citizen* represents something that most observers insist is impossible: It is the one major example of a newspaper of the 1950's started in direct opposition to an existing one that has made it over the competitive jumps.

Not that the Lima story yet has an ending; nor should one generalize from the experience that the trend toward the one-newspaper town has been reversed. Still, it shows that there exists a combination of circumstances that can produce a new, permanent, competitive newspaper.

To understand how it happened it is necessary to go back another five years before 1957—to March 1, 1952, which was the day Leroy S. Galvin died, at the age of 76, in a Lima hospital. Colonel Galvin, as Lima knew him, was editor and publisher of *The Lima News*. He went to work there soon after he came to town in 1897, when the *News* itself was a new newspaper, and remained fifty-five years.

The *News* had grown prosperous and respected. It was Taft-conservative in its political philosophy; it lit no fires and stormed no fortresses, even in its home town. But it stood for solid support of public improvements and such institutions as churches,

schools, the library, parks, and the Community Chest.

Although it was conservative, the *News* under Colonel Galvin never was stodgy—either in appearance or news policy. It covered Lima and the rest of Allen County well. Its management listened sympathetically to reporters who asked for the time—and perhaps a little expense money—to do a special investigative job.

When Colonel Galvin died, control of his newspaper passed to his widow and to a daughter, Catherine Richie Galvin. For a time, Miss Galvin managed the *News*. Later her cousin, Wayne W. Galvin, succeeded her, being named general manager. The *News* continued to prosper, but rumors of family differences over its management grew.

Yet not even Wayne Galvin was prepared for the announcement that arrived in the newsroom on Saturday night, February 11, 1956, by special-delivery letter from Santa Ana, California. The letter contained a news release that told of an agreement to sell the *News* to Raymond Cyrus Hoiles, publisher of Freedom Newspapers, Inc. It was the first Wayne Galvin knew of the negotiations; without advising him, Catherine Galvin had listed the *News* for sale with a New York broker. The price (quoted in *Editor & Publisher*) was \$2,750,000.

So a newspaper was about to be sold, and to an out-of-town-based operation. Well, it was sad, and one might have expected people in Lima to shake their heads and grouse, a bit, and to accept as inevitable what had happened. But they did not.

One reason they did not was because the police reporter for the *News* — a fellow named Chester F. Swegan — had a good memory. Raymond Cyrus Hoiles and Freedom Newspapers, Inc., summoned up shadows in his mind. He had a notion that Hoiles was bad news. On Sunday morning, Swegan and his wife, Nancy, who worked at the Lima Public Library, began searching magazine files. They learned that R. C. Hoiles was the owner of a string of newspapers stretching from Santa Ana, California, to Bucyrus, Ohio. They found that he was a native of Ohio, had got his start running a paper at Mansfield, had sold out at a profit, moved west, and had bought the Santa Ana *Register*. It had prospered, and with the profits he had bought other papers — in Colorado Springs; in Pampa, Texas; in Clovis, New Mexico.

They learned, too, that he had spoken his mind on many subjects. In his columns (until relatively recently he turned out six a week), Hoiles had opposed almost every American public reform of this century — and last. An apostle of a philosophy he has labeled “libertarianism” and “voluntaryism,” Hoiles pursued with unvarying consistency the notion that man ought to do things for himself and be wholly free in his choices. Anything else was “socialism.” This conviction led him to denounce public schools, progressive income taxes, child-labor laws, and majority rule. His political heroes were few; Herbert Hoover he regarded as a “left-winger,” and he distrusted the National Association of Manufacturers. His dislike of labor unions was almost unbounded.

Swegan took copies of articles containing accounts of these and other Hoilesian policies with him when a group of members of Local 166 of the American Newspaper Guild (which had organized the *News* in 1940) met later that Sunday to discuss the proposed sale. Guild members did not like what they read about their prospective employer — especially his ideas about unions and the open shop that prevailed in all Hoiles operations. They decided to do what they could to prevent his becoming their boss, the first step being to distribute the magazine articles.

The inoculation took. Three days later, a group of industrialists, public officials, ministers and other community leaders met to see what could be done to keep Hoiles out of Lima. Letters were read and taped telephone conversations heard from residents of other towns where Hoiles operated — Bucyrus, Ohio, for one — in which a bleak picture of life with Freedom Newspapers was painted. The group wrote to Clarence H. Hoiles, son of the publisher, describing how the Lima group felt about the proposed sale of the newspaper and requesting an audience. The younger Hoiles did not respond until after the sale.

Freedom Newspapers took over operation of the Lima *News* on February 28, 1956, dissolving the old *News* corporation and forming a Hoiles partnership. Wayne Galvin had resigned as general manager and on March 2, E. R. McDowell, a Hoiles veteran, arrived as his successor.

Bob Barton, the *News's* long-time editor, lasted until April. He says now that he first thought he might be able to stay in the Hoiles operation. But when he wrote an editorial endorsing a municipal parking lot proposal, a storm blew up from Santa Ana. Soon after, he went to the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

James Dean, another Hoiles-trained man, came on from Pampa, Texas, in the new job of executive editor. Three weeks later, Robert S. Rochester, managing editor of the *News* since 1954 and previously news editor, resigned. This was the pattern of the next few months as one after another of the *News* editorial staff resigned and the number of Hoiles men increased.

There were other changes. The business department raised the open rate on classified display advertising from \$2.10 to \$3.08. The 8-column page was changed to 9, with no adjustment in display advertising rates.

In April, 1956, Lima's dentists backed a bond issue to permit fluoridation of the city's water supply. A committee visited the *News* and came away with what it believed were assurances there would be no overt opposition to the proposal. The dental group spent considerable amounts of money advertising in the *News*. On Sunday, May 6 — two days before the referendum — the *News* let go an editorial blast entitled “No Fluorides — Make Ours Vanilla.” A long article opposing fluoridation appeared next day. The bond issue was rejected by Lima voters.

In September, 1956, came the fight over passage of an \$880,000 bond issue to build a new public library. Lima needed one to replace an antiquated structure that was still inadequate after the construction of a veritable rabbit warren of additions, most of them underground. A similar bond issue proposal had been beaten almost 2 to 1 in 1951. But its backers thought it might carry now, with the benefit of an organized campaign, which it had not had in 1951. Another committee went to the *News* office to talk with the city editor. He said he would “look upon all such stories with a jaundiced eye.”

On September 6, the *News* printed its first editorial against the library-bond issue in familiar Hoilesian terms. Public libraries were denounced as “socialistic” and “communistic,” as “incompatible with the American way of life.” There was no reason why

"the government should go into the book business."

An added fillip was given the bond-issue fight by the fact that a number of *News* employees took an active part in the campaign — on the other side. This internal warfare reached a climax in the closing days of the campaign when Swegan, the police reporter, bought time to deliver on a Lima radio station for three successive days a stinging attack on the use of what he called the "big lie" technique.

The library-bond issue gained another valuable ally. The *Toledo Blade*, which had a modest circulation in Lima, opened a news bureau there for the duration of the fight.

It occurred to Wayne G. Current, an advertising salesman for the *News*, that the *Blade* might help in a more spectacular way. He went to Toledo to talk with the publisher, Paul Block, Jr., about distributing 18,000 copies of a special edition of the *Blade* — one to every home in the Lima School District — on the day before the election. Block was at first inclined to reject the idea as impractical, but Current won him over. On November 5, the day before the vote, the 18,000 copies were placed in the hands of 600 volunteer workers. The issue included a wrap-up article on the bond issue, a full-page endorsement advertisement signed by 117 Lima organizations, and

The Hoiles-owned Lima News put its full weight against the plan to replace the town's outmoded library. This is the conclusion of an editorial, "What About The Library Bond Issue?" published in the *News* on September 6, 1956.

...rest set
the community is to bring about a renewed consecration and belief in the rights and liberties of all our residents.

To argue that "the majority rules" is to cast aside the real question of right and wrong, regardless of the whimsical feelings of the majority at one time or another. At one time we had an overwhelming majority of the voters in this country that believed that it was right to hold human beings in slavery. The majority rule can set up the legal authority for an action but such legal authority cannot tell whether its actions are right or wrong.

The money involved in the library bond issue actually is of secondary importance. The vital question is: shall we as voters give our approval of an obviously socialistic institution? To such a question we can only say that our answer is and will be an unequivocal "No."

a front-page editorial asking "Why Can't Lima Get Its Library?" The editorial concluded:

For if Mr. Hoiles succeeds in blocking this public improvement with his don't-vote-taxes, don't-spend-money formula, he will be increasingly successful in applying it whenever anything else is proposed in Lima for the benefit of the community. He will block its progress altogether.

That is why we would vote for the new library if we lived in Lima even though we had never read a book and never intended to. We wouldn't let any outsider come into our city and tell us what we could and couldn't do.

The residents of Lima were not about to. Next day, they approved the bond issue by 17,046 to 5,586.

So the "outsider" had got his comeuppance. Although it is impossible to estimate the degree to which Hoiles's opposition helped assure passage of the bond issue, there is no doubt at all that the campaign brought together in common cause against the new ownership of the *News* individuals and groups that could not have been united otherwise.

Even then, there was talk of a second newspaper in Lima. Mostly, it was being heard among the members of the Newspaper Guild, who were certain that the *News* never would sign another contract on terms acceptable to the Guild.

Contract negotiations began in February. The Guild's only request as to wages was a \$1.20-a-week increase in all classifications. Money was minimized to place emphasis on improved job and union-security provisions — union shop (union membership required after thirty days' employment), dues checkoff, severance pay on termination of employment.

The *News* management had signed a contract with the Guild the previous year, just after sale of the newspaper. It was the first such contract a Hoiles newspaper ever had signed and it was evidently accepted because the Guild threatened to bring charges before the National Labor Relations Board. This time it was different. Management proposed many deletions and changes.

Aside from the wage sections, no progress was made on the contract — nor has one been signed to this day. At 6 a.m. on May 1, 1957, Guild pickets appeared at all entrances of the *News*. It was Lima's first newspaper strike in fifty years.

Printers, pressmen, and stereotypers all respected Guild picket lines. Employees in the craft unions had been sent home at 4:15 the previous afternoon and (the unions charged) nonunion employees — some imported from Texas and California — went to work in their places. This breached their contracts, the

craft unions contended; their agreements with the *News* did not expire until midnight on May 1 and they were not on strike.

On May 7, ITU members joined the picket line, contending they had been "locked out." Stereotypers and pressmen soon followed their example.

On May 10, the Guild began publishing the *Bulletin*, a four-page, 9-by-12-inch letterpress newspaper, with more advertising demand than it could handle. But it was no potential competitor of the *News*.

Traditionally there is little sympathy with strikes and strikers in Lima, despite union labor's core of strength in the community. Yet from the start the strike against the *News* had popular backing. One still hears in Lima today about the professional man who took a turn on the picket line; about housewives who sent coffee, soup, and doughnuts to the pickets.

Other trends were running, too, that were to play a part in the establishment of a second newspaper in Lima within the incredibly short period of two months. The *News's* city-zone circulation was vanishing. The Guild had organized an elaborate campaign, by telephone and in person, to get cancellations. Their own records (one copy of a cancellation was sent by registered mail to the *News*, the other kept on file) showed 8,400 subscriptions cancelled during the strike. This represented about one half of the startling decline in total circulation of the *News* between March 31 and September 30, 1957.

These are the Audit Bureau of Circulation figures:

	March 31	September 30	Change
City Zone	18,854	4,773	-14,081
Total	35,132	15,363	-19,769

The *News* was losing advertisers, too. E. R. McDowell, the Hoiles publisher, said that "before the strike we had 450 contracts; 80 remained with us." Linage fell away, not quite so dramatically as subscribers, but with even more deadly effect.

Forty *News* carrier boys resigned as soon as the strike started. Night after night, the *News* apologized to readers who did not get their papers. Distribution became almost as big a headache as shriveling subscription and advertising revenues.

This was the atmosphere in which the efforts of three former members of the *News* advertising staff to establish a competitive newspaper began to flower. Wayne Current, Les Roby and Wilford Brown had begun some months earlier, when the Guild strike appeared inevitable, to gather data on the costs of starting a second newspaper. Current talked with several backers about some kind of temporary newspaper. None of these schemes materialized and, for

the most part, Current got little encouragement. Just about everyone said it couldn't be done.

On April 13, 1957 — about two weeks before the Guild strike — Current and Roby severed their connections with the *News*. They said they regarded themselves as having been discharged as a result of changes in the incentive pay plan for advertising salesmen, which had cut Current's income in half. They spent Sunday, April 14, assembling a prospectus for a newspaper — the *Citizen*. On Monday, April 15, they went out to see if residents of Lima were willing to put their money where their sentiments were. They were.

Notably, James Howenstine and Sam Kamin were willing. Owners and operators of Neon Products, Inc., world's largest manufacturers of electric neon signs, Kamin and Howenstine knew nothing about publishing a newspaper. Howenstine says today he is not sure that, had he known all he knows about newspapers now, he would have become involved five years ago. Whatever subsequent regrets they may have had, Howenstine and Kamin liked Current's proposal. They bought \$100,000 worth of it, and became co-publishers when the *Citizen* was incorporated on May 10.

Now the *Citizen* had substantial financial backing, and respectability. The rest of the \$200,000 in stock that was sold went to 1,100 buyers. Few invested as much as \$10,000; only 150 bought more than \$125 worth of stock. Current refused to sell stock to two groups — prospective advertisers and labor unions.

Barton, who returned to Lima from Cleveland as editor of the *Citizen*, says he turned down Howenstine and Kamin when they approached him. But he accepted their invitation to visit his old home town and talk with anyone he wanted to about the new paper. He went with Howenstine to a small office that had been set up in downtown Lima to accept applications for stock purchases and subscriptions. When he saw the line of people standing outside the building (almost as many to buy stock as to subscribe) he decided he wanted to be a part of it.

Current, by now general manager of the yet unpublished *Citizen*, was on the go. In Charleston, West Virginia, he located a complete, unused newspaper plant, which he leased from the International Typographical Union for \$100,000, payable at \$800 a month. The plant was trucked to an empty factory building (once a woolen mill) owned by Kamin and Howenstine, a mile from downtown Lima.

Staff was no problem; the *News* staff moved over to the *Citizen* en masse. Of 150 employed in all departments before the strike began, 76 went to work

for the *Citizen*. Among carrier boys, 130 of 152 applied for *Citizen* routes.

On July 1, 1957, the first issue of the *Lima Citizen* was published. Like its opposition, it was an afternoon newspaper. It proclaimed itself as being: "Lima Owned . . . Lima Edited . . . Lima Dedicated."

In the months that followed, its owners and editors labored hard at projecting this idea. They made it their job to establish the *Citizen* as the authentic home-town newspaper—a replica, in effect, of the old *News*.

From the first issue, the *Citizen* surpassed the expectations of its anxious backers. Circulation figures had been projected at 10,000 for the first issue, with an increase to 15,000 in six months. But there were more than 20,000 paid subscribers to the first issue and the average for the first three months was 24,060. The *News* was down to 15,363 at this point.

The *Citizen* shot ahead of the *News* in advertising lineage at once. By November, 1957, it led even in national advertising, where there is always a time lag. In both local and classified, the *Citizen* took an early lead of almost 2 to 1.

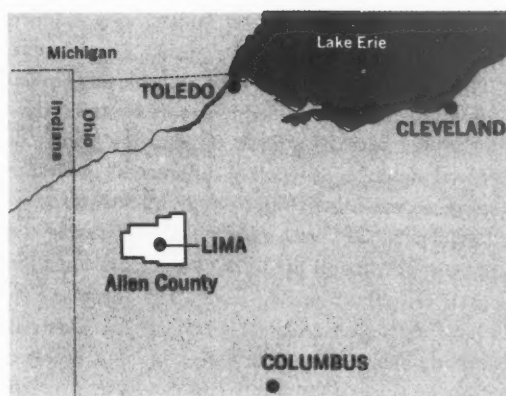
As anticipated, the *Citizen* lost money, despite its remarkable showing. Its officers have been reluctant to divulge exact amounts. The best estimates place the first-year losses at around \$4,000 a month. But the *Citizen* edged slowly toward the break-even point. It was helped by the fact that its publishers took no money out of the business and that its union employees accepted for two years a discount from contract-wage levels, with the money to be paid when notes fell due at a later time.

This year the *Citizen* broke through the profit barrier for the first time. For twelve months ending July 1, 1962, it made about \$1,000 a week—between \$50,000 and \$60,000 for the year.

How much money did the *News* lose in five years of competition? The Hoiles management is close-mouthed on the subject. E. R. McDowell, then publisher of the *News*, told a meeting of a Sigma Delta Chi chapter in Toledo in 1958: "We're willing to lose a million dollars a year." McDowell later hinted that the *News* had very nearly achieved that figure; he placed the loss at \$4,000,000 in five years.

But the *News* refused to take its difficulties lying down. It continued to battle the *Citizen* both for advertising and circulation. As it is summed up by E. Roy Smith, the young man who came to Lima as *News* publisher last April: "The calendar is on our side."

When it lost more than half its city-zone circulation, the *News* turned elsewhere for readers. It began



Lima (pronounced Lime-uh), Ohio, is a manufacturing city in the northwestern part of the state. Allen County, Lima's metropolitan area, contains 26,000 families in all, living mostly in private houses on annual incomes with a median of \$5,500—very close to the national average. Forty per cent of the labor force is in white-collar work, and the bulk of the employment is connected with the manufacturing of heavy items—refrigerators, locomotives and automobile bodies—and neon signs. Only 1.4 per cent of the county's population was born outside the United States. The town is staunchly Republican.

soliciting subscribers in fringe areas the old *News* had never tried to reach. It held most of its rural circulation during the strike and after the founding of the *Citizen*. But it had to push hard beyond these limits to get the subscribers needed to make any kind of circulation showing. Thus, the *News* went into cities like Findlay, thirty-three miles away, to compete with an existing daily.

The *News* gained part of this fringe circulation through special offers, including cutting weekly delivery rates to 25 cents (compared with 43 cents for the *Citizen*) for daily and Sunday issues. The *News* slowly rebuilt its circulation from just over 15,000 to 27,402 (1962). The *Citizen* still holds a big lead in the Lima city zone—14,430 to 8,054—but the *News* can and does claim to be the circulation leader, by a margin of 2,500. The publisher expects *News* circulation to pass 30,000 within months.

Since 1958, the *News* has also distributed a shopper's guide (to more than 60,000 homes in the Lima area, according to promotional claims). The rate for advertising in the shopper, coupled with certain space conditions in the *News*, is absurdly low. This practice, with a provision for special rates to out-of-town advertisers, forms the basis of complaints now pending against the *News* for anti-trust law violations. The case has been on-again, off-again for several

years. The investigation recently has been resumed by the Cleveland office of the Justice Department.

The *Citizen* continues to hold a sizable edge in exclusive advertisers. It gained two more contracts during the past year, as a result of what the principals involved describe as "policy differences" with the *News*. One was Lima's biggest department store.

Financially, the *News* got another jolt during the past year. It came in the form of the Ohio Supreme Court's refusal to review lower-court decisions in favor of employees seeking severance pay. One test case had involved the severance pay of a reporter due at the time of the *News* sale. Another involved the "lockout" in May, 1957. The exact cost of these decisions to the *News* is not yet certain. The best guess is that at least \$150,000 worth of these suits were validated by the court rulings.

Despite all this bad news, a more optimistic point of view about the future is to be found at the *News* office in downtown Lima than prevails at the *Citizen* office on industrial Vine Street.

It has something to do, no doubt, with what the *News* publisher, Smith, describes as a "radical change in the temper of the Lima community in the last five years." In 1957, he points out, anyone who worked for the *News* had trouble finding a house to rent. In public gatherings, *News* employees could count on studied insults. All this, Smith suggests, has changed. There is general agreement in Lima that this is true. Many Lima residents believe the Hoiles management is deliberately putting on a new face.

E. Roy Smith, who came to Lima in April, 1962, from a Hoiles paper in Texas, is a living, breathing argument for this notion. Tall, handsome, affable, soft-spoken, he exudes goodwill. He wants to "let bygones be bygones." He takes an active part in community affairs and is getting to know Lima people.

Also, he has softened the hard Hoiles line of the *News*. He denies there have been any changes in basic editorial policy. There is, he insists, more than one way to put the truth; he is using a different one, perhaps, from McDowell's. The purpose of an editorial, he says, is to persuade.

Probably he is right in declaring that basic editorial policy remains the same. When the *News* commented on events at the University of Mississippi in October, it was to deplore the violence as just another reprehensible product of "government education." But the *News* has been supporting the United Fund Drive in Lima—the first time, it is said, a Hoiles newspaper has conceded that charity need not begin at home.

The sunnier face of the *News* poses a tough problem to the *Citizen*. Its management understands that

the *Citizen* is a product of aroused public resentment. It is convinced it cannot permit this resentment to be entirely dissipated. What should its response be?

A similar problem arose in 1959. The *News* had taken on a more moderate tone. This change hurt the *Citizen* at the cash register. The *Citizen* launched what some Lima residents describe as a "hate campaign." In an editorial on March 4, 1959, the *Citizen* declared:

The people of Lima have a very important decision to make these days: Shall their newspaper be the Lima *Citizen* or the Lima *News*?

It's an economic fact that a community of this size can't support two daily newspapers...

Now that the *Citizen* has wholly demonstrated what it is and what it represents, it's time for everyone in Lima to take a good look at their city's future.

It's time for everyone in Limaland to stand up and be counted—to put his newspaper dollars where his principles are.

It's time to finish the job.

According to Wayne Current, this editorial and a series of follow-ups reminding Lima residents of some of the things Hoiles and the *News* had stood for in the past seemed to do the job. The immediate threat was averted.

The editor, Barton, thinks the campaign may have left some bad feeling. Both Current and Barton are unhappy and uncertain about what tack the *Citizen* should take in the face of another "sweetness and light" offensive by the *News*.

Their problem is not an easy one. When the *Citizen* puts itself in the position it took in 1959, it tends to surrender its "good guy" role. The fact is that many readers in Lima frankly enjoy having two newspapers. They regard the present situation as healthy for everybody concerned.

The newspaper situation in Lima today is unique. Beyond that it is difficult and dangerous to generalize. Not even the figures that show how many people read each newspaper, or how much advertising revenue each gets, tell all the story.

Thus, the *Citizen*, while it dominates the statistical data and has shown a profit in the last year, is on uncertain ground. It has disappointed some of its best friends, who feel that a chance was lost to make something new and special of this community-sponsored newspaper. These disenchanted friends insist it was a mistake to cast the *Citizen* so clearly and deliberately in the image of the pre-Hoiles *News*, a mistake to bring Barton back as editor, a mistake to adopt a limp and vacillating editorial policy.

"If you don't know what happened in the past," an unhappy Guild member declares, "you can hardly



The Lima News and the Lima Citizen show little difference in news selection. The papers' front pages offered roughly the same material on December 21, 1962. The accent was outside Allen County: both lead articles were about the Nassau conference; both off-leads were on the ransom of the Cuban prisoners. Both pages gave prominent play to an identical dispatch, the AP story on the end of the General Assembly of the United Nations. In one other case — the article on the Pan American-Trans World airlines merger — the same dispatch was used. Staff stories on a fatal automobile crash in Van Wert, twenty-nine miles from Lima, appeared in both. Neither page offered a strictly local story, but this was unusual.

tell the difference between the *Citizen* and the *News* today."

Perhaps that sums up the situation. For the two newspapers *do* look remarkably alike today. They are remarkably similar in content. And, indeed, one boast that *Citizen* staff members sometimes make (smiling a bit wryly as they do) is that they have been responsible for a vast improvement in the *News*. Except for the editorial page — and even here the contrast is currently not striking — most of the difference between the two newspapers is what has happened in the past.

This is not to say that Lima has forgotten the past. Among those who fought out the library-bond issue, there is likely to be no forgetting. The latent anti-Semitism of Hoiles policies and the abrasiveness of

some other aspects of the Santa Ana scriptures assure the continuing reopening of some old wounds.

What of the general public? Its mood is hard to assay. Yet as recently as June, 1961, there was dramatic evidence that the public has not necessarily forgotten.

The occasion was the high school commencement, attended by about 5,000 persons. The speaker had read one of the *News's* anti-public-education diatribes and had been incensed by it. Taking up a copy of the *News*, he tore it into shreds, to the accompaniment of tumultuous applause from his audience.

How does this kind of popular demonstration translate into newspaper subscribers and advertisers? No one can be sure, and no one can say what the future

holds for the *Citizen* and the *News*. Neither shows any sign of giving up. Perhaps they can operate indefinitely on the present basis—the *Citizen* making a small profit, sustained and nourished by the zeal of its staff and those community leaders who are determined to keep it alive; the *News*, with time on its side, inching slowly forward as it belatedly learns how to get along with the people of Lima.

There is strong evidence that neither will sell out to the other unless things get much worse than they are. The most frequently mentioned outcome is sale

of both newspapers to a third party, who would merge them into a single profitable operation.

This would be in the current American newspaper pattern. But it would destroy the one example of a sizable city where a second newspaper was established to compete with an unpopular existing one, and saw it through. If the Lima newspaper story ends in merger many a secret tear will be shed by those who would like to think there is some relief for the average reader of newspapers from the tyranny of the kind of monopoly that seems to beg to be licked.

From John Gunther's A Fragment of Autobiography: The Fun of Writing the Inside Books, published by Harper & Row in 1962:

Heaven knows I didn't invent the word "inside" and it had already been used in novels like *The Inside of the Cup*, by the other Winston Churchill. Later I learned that *Variety*, a magazine which I am not sure I had ever seen as of that day, ran a column called "Inside Stuff." But this wasn't my field and for many years I held comfortably to the view that the word "inside" had never been used before as I was using it. Then, a decade later, I found out to my astonishment that Herbert Bayard Swope had written a report on Germany during the First World War called "Inside the German Empire." Mr. Swope himself mentioned this to me years later, and chided me gently. Even so, it can be fairly stated that the *Inside* title, as made popular by me, was my own invention. Of course, I am so sick of it now that I wince when I hear it, but it has rendered me stout service. Other writers have imitated it hundreds of times—thousands. There are at least twenty books called *Inside* or *Outside* something or other, among them *Inside the Whale*, by George Orwell, a book about prisons called simply *Inside*, by Helen Bryan, *Inside Marriage*, *Inside Benchley*, *Inside the Atom*, and even *Inside Inside*, an anthology sponsored by the Overseas Press Club. Syngman Rhee, the Korean dictator now deposed, once wrote a book called *Japan Inside Out*.

Gunther
on
"Insides"

As to magazine and newspaper stories, these exist almost without number. Whenever an editor cannot think of another title he simply tacks the word "inside" on his subject. Examples run from "Inside the Garden of Eden" to "Inside Joe DiMaggio's Batting" and even "Inside Outer Space."

In one year, 1952, I came across no fewer than seventy-two uses of *Inside* in newspapers and magazines.

Actually, the *Inside* title as used by me was truly applicable to only one of my books, the first one, *Inside Europe*. After that I was not so much inside looking out as outside looking in. One of the reasons that I dislike the title nowadays is that, as used by many other writers, it has come to connote vulgarity and sensationalism, as well as false intimacy, which, if I do say so myself, I have always sought to avoid, although I like gossip as much as the next man. However, the title has been of substantial aid to me because it has given me an identification, a kind of trademark, so that my series of books seem to have a structural unity, a continuing design. Besides it has saved me from the considerable nuisance of finding a new title for each new work.

I suppose I should add a word about the jokes. Such appalling jokes! Few days go by, even now, that I am not asked by somebody when more of my insides are coming out or when I am going to write "Inside Gunther." I don't think a week has passed in twenty years, that, arriving at a large gathering, I have not been greeted by somebody with the coy question, "And what are you *inside* of now, Mr. Gunther?" and, visiting a city, I have heard the arch phrase, "Ah, you are *inside* Buffalo now" or "Now you can write an article about being *inside* the Hotel Flamingo" at least ten thousand times.

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A first report from readers:

New York Times out west

The New York Times, on October 1, 1962, after considerable labor and a quantity of surveys sufficient to float a national Presidential campaign, went national. A Western Edition of 32 pages, edited in New York, came out of a leased printing plant in Los Angeles and went into "more than 100,000" pairs of hands—eager, curious, or skeptical.*

The genesis of the edition was far from a painless spinning-off. It was a tale of disorder eased only the least bit by the earlier experience of setting up the International Edition in Paris. Most of the T's in the banner-line font got broken; mechanical gadgets became distempered and bit back. The typographical confusion was infectious; the New York edition also caught a bad case. In its third and fourth months, the paper became considerably cleaner.

The reactions of the first subscribers and buyers could not reasonably be compared with the attitudes of readers viewing any other new publication. Some of the readers of the new edition were accustomed to seeing the *Times* anyway—the New York edition, days late. Some of these felt, when served the Western Edition, like a man who had ordered a steak and received a half-portion; others were content to have even a fractional *Times* on the day it was printed.

Some of the new readers hardly knew what to make of a front page that showed no regional weighting and that seemed to have its roots no place in particular, despite the New York dateline under the nameplate. Others, believing the West Coast press provincial, were convinced that they had broken through to the world at large.

*Not to mention antagonistic. An advertisement for subscribers was placed in twenty West Coast papers in August. The *San Francisco Chronicle*, whose columnist Herb Caen blasted the *Times* in advance of its appearance, refused to print the ad.

Such, at least, are the major impressions gained from the comments of twenty *Review* readers (of twenty-six asked to comment) in the Pacific states. The group was not a scientific sample: six are journalism teachers, four are in the newspaper business, the others are in allied fields—freelance writing, public relations, television and radio, and advertising. Thirteen subscribed to the *Times*; others saw it.

In general, the major assets of the Western Edition cited were those that give the *Times* its sizable reputation: completeness, depth, and three R's—reliability, range, and Reston.

One respondent, Alex Edelstein, associate professor in the School of Communications of the University of Washington, said the new edition covered in detail events that were not considered news by local dailies.

"For example," he wrote, "on one day there was a valuable piece (to me) on Peace Corps expansion plans, the plight of the Hutchins group at Santa Barbara, a Khrushchev reaction to abstract art, and another Seymour Topping article on Soviet Cold War propaganda tactics."

Not to be ignored among chief assets was an entirely subjective matter—nostalgia. Some of the Westerners are displaced Easterners and almost all had read the *Times* at some point in their lives. John L. Hulteng, dean of the School of Journalism at the University of Oregon, wrote:

"I remember with what a feeling of familiar reassurance I picked up the first issue when it arrived at noon on the day of publication...."

A convinced Westerner, William R. Lindley, assistant professor of journalism at the University of Puget Sound, wrote: "Frankly, its main appeal seems to be to the thinking man who really cares about world events and homesick ex-New Yorkers and ex-New Englanders, who greeted it with what were almost sobs of joy. I brought an extra copy to a former

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Harvard man, who hasn't been so excited since his first BB gun."

As for drawbacks, one complaint sounded loudly—typography! Some of the negative response fell on the *Times* appearance as a whole—hard to read, crammed-up, old-fashioned makeup and headlines. But the major grievance was the nightmare of accidental typos and foulups, begotten, evidently, by the paper's much-touted telephone-tape transmission.

"Many of us play the game of 'find that paragraph,'" Edelstein wrote. "As journalists, we have the advantage of knowing where to look for it, but even we can be fooled."

Lindley noted another drawback cited by several readers: lack of West Coast news. "The *Times* doesn't cover all of New York State, including New York City, with two or three stories a day, total. Yet that's how it covers California, now equally populous."

Further, Lindley, drawing a bead on the west-of-the-Hudson-is-nothing school, said: "The weather ear on Page One just gives the Seattle forecast, which isn't the same as Portland's. But then one gets used to outlanders' lumping Washington and Oregon."

Fauneil J. Rinn, assistant professor of political science at San Jose State College in California, cast a clear "no" vote: "Its main drawback is that it is not the late city edition of *The New York Times*. It does not have, for example, as many letters to the editor... nor... as complete an obit page. I plan to stick with the late city edition, even though it gets to me two to three days after publication, because I don't want to miss anything."

Lumps and gaps in distribution were also noted, although most respondents said they presumed this difficulty would mend itself.

In fielding its Western Edition the *Times* was inviting comparison with *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Christian Science Monitor*, two other dailies with regional printing.

Most of the respondents prefer the *Times* in this comparison, in part because of the wider range of the



Western Edition (left) made its debut at the height of a major story. New York edition is shown for comparison

Times, as opposed to the business orientation of *The Wall Street Journal*, and the immediacy of the *Times*, as opposed to the news-is-when-we-say-it attitude of the *Monitor*.

Robert Schulman, director of special features of the Crown Radio Stations in the Northwest, gave an edge to the *Journal* in its special field:

"In economic matters, the *Times* often trails the *Journal* in providing a well-knit and enlightening 'feel' of a given development or trend."

A few declined comparisons: "Isn't it a bit like comparing apples and kumquats?" Miss Rinn asked.

When it came to comparing *The Times* with local newspapers, apples and kumquats was again the cry.

"I consider it a supplement to the local paper I read, *The Portland Reporter*," was the answer from Gene Klare, a public-relations man in Portland.

Those who felt a comparison was valid fell into many camps.

"The *Times*'s columnists are duller, less informative and much weaker than those of the *San Francisco Chronicle*," Burton H. Wolfe, editor of Western Independent Publications, wrote. "The *Times* has no

one to compare to the *Chronicle*'s great political satirist Art Hoppe or to the society columnist Herb Caen... or to Drew Pearson, although the *Chronicle* butchers his column."

Miss Rinn found the *Times* "infinitely superior to every major newspaper in this area except the *Oakland Tribune*, to which it is also superior, but just not infinitely so."

Professor Edelstein made a comparison by indirection: "Perhaps it's the stuffiness of the *Times* and its longwindedness that give you a sense of intimacy and participation, but you do have the feeling that if there's another paragraph to be got, the *Times* will get it... Every so-called factual, fast-breaking news story raises questions that are the newspaper's responsibility to answer. The *Times* seems to be capable of asking, and answering, more questions."

Asked about any effect the *Times* might have on the local papers, the majority said "none yet." Several noted the fact that withdrawal of the *Times* news service from the local papers had caused moves to the *New York Herald Tribune* service and the *Washington Post-Los Angeles Times* service, and the emer-

The two leading morning newspapers on the Pacific Coast are shown for the same date, October 1

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gence of a new Reston in the *Chronicle* — Richard, James's son.

Several said they believed the advent of the *Times* had caused the local papers to "beef up" their coverage, particularly financial, Washington, and the United Nations. No one noted any considerable circulation impact. Wyman Riley, managing editor of the Gibson Publications in Vallejo, California, said:

"The major news dealer here says he sells only ten copies a day. He adds that he is discontinuing the *Monitor* because he sells about ten a month."

On a summary question — an assessment of the experiment to date — most were hopeful.

"Professionally, I think it is good, but practically, because of the number of good dailies in California, it will probably have severe circulation problems," Mr. Riley wrote.

"As with *The Wall Street Journal* and the *Monitor*, a limited appeal largely to intellectuals and to the affluent who can afford a third newspaper," said Avery L. Kizer, an editorial writer for the *Stockton Record*.

Mr. Wolfe said: "In my opinion, the *Times's* failures far outweigh its successes. It is, like almost every other daily newspaper in the United States, failing to live up to its responsibility to humanity."

Don Frank of Santa Ana wrote: "As an advertising man, [I find] it looks as though they aren't yet reaching many eyes. The paper is slim and has few ads. I hope they can afford to stick it out."

"We like what we get, but we need more of it," Sam Feldman, journalism adviser in the San Bernardino high schools, wrote, urging particularly more California news — sports and politics.

"It establishes a new high standard for local papers to match," was the answer of Robert W. Desmond, acting chairman of the department of journalism at the University of California in Berkeley.

Norman A. Cherniss, editor of the editorial pages of the *Press-Enterprise* in Riverside, California, wrote: "The simple presence of a newspaper such as the *Times*, with its built-in and widely known reputation . . . has had and should have the effect of spurring the metropolitans to somewhat greater efforts in their own interests and give any with tendencies to shade or neglect certain kinds of news cause for second thoughts. Which is a polite way of saying there has

been some improvement in coverage and honesty. This may not be part of the '*Times* experiment,' but it is at least a residual effect."

Dean Hulteng wrote: "From a personal point of view, I am delighted. . . . Looking at it in a professional sense, I would be hopeful that it can be improved as a technical product. And, of course, I would not want my students to look on it as representative of the genuine article — that massive, overwhelming, encyclopedic home edition."

With the Western Edition less than half a year old, only the most tentative evaluation can be drawn from readers' reactions and the performance of the paper itself. Still, the following can be offered:

1. The *Times* has definitely not fallen on its face in attempting the Western Edition. The edition, while far smaller in bulk than its New York parent, still has enough solid quantity and quality to compare favorably with all but the largest papers on the West Coast.
2. At the same time, the West Coast's own journalism has more for the serious reader than ever before



Unseen in New York: The December 17 Western Edition, published while parent was blacked out.

— notably, in the cases of the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Oakland Tribune*. The anticipated advantages of contrast are not so striking as when the *Times* began to plan the project.

3. The execution of the paper has become considerably smoother. The limited amount of copy appearing in the Western Edition has received better editing and proofreading than the New York paper.

4. There seem to be no prospects that the *Times* will find a large general audience or that it will pretend to be a California newspaper. Instead, it may find that one of its competitors is its own New York edition.

But the subscribers to the *Times* Western Edition were the luckiest of men and women, if the *Times* was their dish, when a printers' strike brought the closing of all the New York papers. Thin, dull, stodgy or not, the Western Edition was the only *Times* published in the United States. Many a New Yorker would have walked a mile for a copy. But only the West Coast had one.

Critics' choice

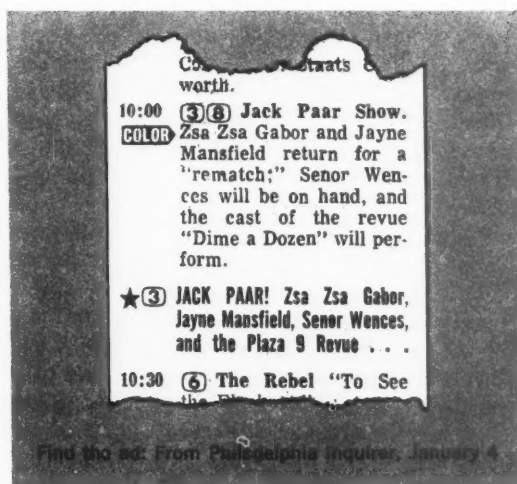
Cervi's Journal, the Denver weekly, reports in its issue of December 5 on the "Rickatson amendment." Frank H. Rickatson, Jr., president of the Central City Opera House Association, "has been allowed in the past," says *Cervi's* "to tamper with reviews of Central City productions, even before the reviews are published." Be this as it may, the new contract signed by *The Denver Post* and the Newspaper Guild contains the following clause:

In editing of bylined reviews and assessments of public entertainment affairs and events, the writer's opinion — as distinct from his choice of words, style and structure — shall not be changed without his consent unless the byline is removed.

Cervi's immediately found a case of the clause in effect. A bylined review in the early edition of the *Post* began: "The concert of the Denver Symphony Orchestra in the Auditorium Theater Tuesday night at least had the virtue of not being boring, it was agonizing."

The late editions carried the review without a byline. It began: "Joseph Banowetz returned to Denver Tuesday night to perform with the Denver Symphony Orchestra in the Auditorium Theater."

Who's boosting?



The "Press" department of *Newsweek* (November 26, 1962) points out that boldface listings in newspapers' television program schedules do not necessarily show an editor's preference. They are likely instead to be advertisements placed through National TV Log, a New York and Los Angeles advertising agency. Among the papers using such ads are mentioned: the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Mirror*, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The agency says that the listings are marked as ads—particularly, it would seem, for those who have the perseverance and eyesight to find this note elsewhere on the page:

★Paid Advertisement

Emancipating a newspaper

Control of newspapers by corporations engaged primarily in other businesses is declining. Examples remain, notably the control of Jacksonville, Florida, newspapers by railroads. But the sale in 1959 of a chain of eight Montana dailies by the Anaconda Company removed in one sweep the country's prime example.

A less well-known case took place in International Falls, Minnesota, a town of 6,778 facing the Rainy River border with Canada. There the Minnesota &

AROUND THE MAP

Ontario Paper Company, which had owned and subsidized the *Daily Journal* for twenty-nine years, sold the paper and its printing shop to Harry Davey and his wife in 1958. Although, Davey says, the company had not practiced "feudal journalism," it had apparently come to believe that newspapermen are best equipped to run newspapers.

The immediate question was: Could the paper—in a town that was the smallest in the state with a daily—survive without subsidy? The town was inclined to doubt it, and suspected the Daveys, in fact, of making a "paper deal" that left control with the company. Townspeople also doubted—even granting the *bona fides* of the sale—that the paper could survive the results of printing the news straight. International Falls was once a brawling, wide-open town—and retained traces of that temperament.

One by one, doubts were set to rest. An official of a union at the paper company settled the matter of the "paper deal." He checked the facts in the documents on file at the courthouse and found that there had been a real sale. (Davey, in fact, is still paying off a sizable mortgage.) The *Journal* began to print "controversial" news, the first item of which was a police-blotter story that included the name of a big advertiser.

The financial problems were the most complex. Davey thought at first of converting to semi-weekly publication, but decided to give the daily a try. Mrs. Davey, in the first year, sold advertising, often making the rounds of businesses in below-zero temperatures.

One particular financial hurdle was the first contract negotiation with the International Typographical Union. To Davey, the union demands seemed to doom the paper. He asked the local to call in a representative from international headquarters to hear all sides of the case. The ITU man listened to his local and to Davey's statement of his position and good intentions and announced: "If you press Davey for these demands, you'll end up being the highest paid unemployed printers in Minnesota." There was quick agreement, and from that time publisher-union negotiations have been private and amicable, with wages and working conditions steadily improving.

Today Davey, who holds the positions in the North Star Publishing Company of president, publisher, purchasing agent, and editor, finds his enterprise modestly profitable. Advertising is up, and the paper always sells the 4,700 copies it prints.

Davey does remain dependent on Minnesota & Ontario to the extent that a share of his profits comes from commercial printing, and the paper company is a big customer. But, Davey maintains, this is strictly a seller-customer relationship; he says he remains free as editor to criticize the company—an occasion that has not yet arisen, partly because in the company's chief contact with the area—in land use and conservation—it has pursued enlightened policies. But he has printed editorials with which members of the company management strongly disagree.

Thus, although he has not been called on to make a fiery demonstration of his emancipation, Harry Davey has demonstrated to his town that an independent newspaper has its place, even in a town that had grown accustomed to doing without.

Plugged in

The *Los Angeles Times* has moved into the Age of the Computer. An RCA 301 now accepts paper tape punched by electric typewriters and in 17 seconds produces enough corrected and spaced tape to give automatic typesetting machines enough to fill a newspaper column. Copy editors' changes, too, are fed into the computer and incorporated. The tremendous speed of the operation is obviously a breakthrough into the twentieth century for newspaper printing. Who cannot help wondering, though, about the feelings of reporters plugged in on the system? They must feel a little as cows did when the milking machine was introduced.

Off the pace

A survey by the National Association of Broadcasters of wages in television and radio reveals the rise of a new underprivileged class—the radio newsman. Radio stations now pay their news directors an average of \$111 a week, \$56 behind the average rate for television news directors and \$13 behind the average radio salesman. Another comparison: The average top-minimum wage, for experienced reporters, specified in American Newspaper Guild contracts is \$134.

SECOND READING

Stanley Walker on "fashions in news"

Stanley Walker, who—ill with cancer—died by his own hand in Lampasas, Texas, on November 25, came to symbolize the metropolitan city editor, although but seven of his newspaper years in New York were spent in that position. His term at the New York Herald Tribune has become, in retrospect, an age of gold—a last stand of the glittering Twenties in the face of depression and impending world crisis. Yet the volume in which Stanley Walker recorded the journalism of his time contains seriousness as well as color. City Editor—published in 1934, the year before Stanley Walker left the Herald Tribune—contains, for example, a chapter called "Fashions in News," which reaches out beyond its time. Portions of the chapter are reprinted here.

What is news to the editor is news to the citizen. In its more spectacular manifestations, news may be identified as easily by the man in the subway as by the editor with the green eyeshade. It is news when Charles A. Lindbergh flies the Atlantic, and when his baby son is kidnaped. It is news when a *Titanic* or a *Lusitania* goes down. It is news when the mayor of a great city, finding himself hemmed in and facing an unpleasant doom, decides to quit. It is news when a nerveless man-hunter and his companions send a volley into Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker. It is news when an heir is born to a great fortune or a throne, and it is news when a Togo or a Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt or a James J. Corbett lies down to die. It is news when the earth shakes and cities are ruined. It is news when an Ehrlich finds his silver bullet for syphilis, and every advance in the study of the nature of cancer is news—as, some day, the conquering of cancer may provide a news story greater than the declaration of a war.

Such material obviously is news of the first rank. It furnishes the best-remembered stories. It is in this

field, the field of the obvious, that most great newspapers spend most of their money and energy and professional diligence. But there is another field, a misty frontier, a journalistic No Man's Land, that lies between what obviously is important news and what certainly is not news. It is in this Gran Chaco of newspaperdom that papers make themselves foolish or brilliant; here they score their immortal triumphs and their monumental stupidities. Dealing with the imponderables, the monsters which are difficult to discern in the underbrush, calls for the most acute intelligence and the most restless imagination.

In this field lie the situations, the trends, the vague forebodings, the temper and feel of a city, the slow groundswells of opinion, the premonitions of social change, the subtle changes in manners, customs and thoughts. The time comes when a newspaper editor, with all the spot news covered, the obvious well-attended to, will feel that something which may be of more genuine news interest than the entire budget of Reno divorces, the bright sayings of Max Baer, the worries of the Board of Education and the annual optimistic pronunciamiento of Charles M. Schwab. Editors have been known to interpret a peculiar pain in the left knee as a hunch that some prominent man would die in a few hours. Others, observing the fidgeting of a public official at a dinner, have suspected that the man was a crook and have started investigations which resulted in shocking exposures. Hunches in the field of ideas may not smack so much of black magic, but they come from random thoughts on religious movements, foreign debt payments, the workings of communism or the dissatisfaction of large groups. Is there a wide-open fault in the structure of the National Recovery program which is clearly demonstrable and which inevitably will have definite manifestations? Then that must be watched and studied. Are the labor unions dying, or will they become

stronger than ever? Such matters, lying partly in the realm of news and partly in the field of disputation and opinion, sometimes must be handled on the editorial page, but not always. They may have legitimate excuse as important news. Editors who can handle such material are few; the rapid economic and social changes of the last few years, and the constant shifting of characters and beliefs, have placed a strain upon news judgment, probably a greater strain than newspapers have felt since the World War. If ever the newspapers business called for the best brains, the best professional skill, it calls for them now. . . .

It might be good for the country if a leading editorial could be regarded once more as a true fragment from Sinai; but the simple circumstance remains that it isn't so regarded. It may be that the powerful, ripping editorial will come back in style; the betting among the canny seems to be against it. One strong, terse editorial, clearing away the underbrush, illuminating a subject and expressing a definite policy, may be magnificent. If there must be other editorials, why not make them authoritative, factual, carefully analytical, without screaming, frothing or special pleading—a natural supplement to the information in the news columns? Are millions swayed when Mr. Hearst advises them in a signed editorial? Perhaps; what is more likely, they pay little attention to it.

The foregoing is not to argue that a newspaper can or should be a daily *New Republic*, a recasting of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," the collected works of Walter Lippmann, or the forebodings of Ogden L. Mills. It is merely to suggest that the stuff of history, and the materials of today, might be treated a bit more clearly and factually.

The pedants insist that a newspaper should "have live social consciousness," that it "should take a long view of current events with the eye of the historian," while presenting "a comprehensive picture of modern civilization." Doubtless true, professor, provided you don't have to worry about the probable bankruptcy of your newspaper. And yet it is curious that even the

most transparent charlatans among publishers attempt, at one time or another, to rationalize what they are doing, to invent some sort of philosophy and to argue seriously (while their own employees are stifling lewd guffaws) that their work on this earth is for the public "good." A funny business, sometimes a carnival with peep shows and flea acts, and again as solemn as an unusually high-minded session of the Sanhedrin.

A few dreamers among newspaper men persist in believing that a newspaper can be as accurate as the World Almanac, as long-headed as the ablest social planner or historian, and at the same time avoid the dead hand of dullness and ponderosity. It should, above all, be alive.

Failure of newspapers to point out genuinely significant movements until these movements had become so prominent that no one could avoid their discussion, has been the subject of complaint from critics of journalism. George Bernard Shaw dropped his cap and bells long enough a few years ago to accuse newspapers of an affliction which he called "time-lag"—that is to say, it requires too long for papers to wake up to facts, and a revolution may have taken place before the press has realized that it is any more than a few bombings, stabbings and speeches. Shaw observed that the press was tardy in recognizing the news values inherent in the experiment in Russia. Allowing for some overstatement which may be fallen into by vegetarians as well as beef-eaters, he appears to have been correct. Time-lag is a real affliction. . . .

The call now, perhaps, is for even more fairness and impartiality, for an even more alert appraisal of what is happening and what is about to happen, for even more cold realism, and possibly for a broadening of interests. It may be that tomorrow newspapers will discover that there are types of news somewhere in the clash of people and ideas, which will be as revolutionary, and as profitable, as James Gordon Bennett's hunch that people would read news of society and sports.

Against a monument

From The Sun, Baltimore, December 14, 1962:

Since no plan yet advanced for a national newspaper Hall of Fame at Gathland State Park [Maryland] includes a life-size marble tableau of Homer Bigart and mule under mortar fire in Sicily or André Glarner swimming San Francisco Bay with his earthquake dispatch in his teeth or Sergeant Mauldin and General Patton in mighty confrontation, we find ourselves opposed to the whole idea.

This Hall of Fame as projected would be a monument (with sound track) to freedom of the press, and would embalm the names of selected practitioners of that freedom.

But freedom of the press exercised and fought for anew each day stands as its own monument—or flows, for this is not a thing to be frozen. Freedom of the press is not inscribed on bronze. It is printed in ink.

RESEARCH: TOOL AND WEAPON

How good editors can use good research

The bulk of research in newspaper organizations has been concentrated in advertising departments. Editors commonly have regarded it as an intruder. Here Penn T. Kimball, a professor of journalism at Columbia, describes the uses and limitations of research as a potential tool for editors. The text is based on an address delivered at a meeting of the Associated Press Managing Editors association in 1962.

By PENN T. KIMBALL

Communication research will never produce punchcards of editorial directions calculated to give an audience what it wants. Perish the thought. Media of communication have the obligation to shape the tastes and aspirations of their audiences, not just to cater to them. But such guidance, to be effective, must be linked to reality. And the reality of the reading audience's needs is changing faster than some editors are changing their habits. Research is one way of keeping abreast of change.

It is stylish for "practical" men to disparage researchers as impractical. The late Charles Kettering of General Motors, a highly practical businessman, once remarked that "research" seemed to be a "high-hat word that scares a lot of people."

"It needn't," Kettering said. "It is rather simple. Essentially it is nothing but a state of mind—a friendly, welcoming attitude towards change. Going out to look for change instead of waiting for it to come. Research, for practical men, is an effort to do things better and not be caught asleep at the switch."

Businesses these days are spending millions of dollars to adapt their policies to the dynamics of society. If you want evidence of what happens when a company

loses touch with change, reflect on what happened to the Packard motor car or to Lifebuoy soap. Or, in our own field, consider the overdue changes imposed on the *Saturday Evening Post* or the Hearst newspapers.

If a good editor knows the *facts* about the changes in his audience, his own creative ability can keep his publication on the crest of these changes.

When we talk about research in the field of human behavior, however, it is well to be humble.

All of us function to some degree with advance knowledge of others' responses. Ask a banker about taxes and one is rarely surprised by the reply. Ask children how square their parents are. Ask a publisher about composing-room costs. Ask a reporter his opinion of the man who checks his expense account. Fairly predictable human attitudes make each of us an expert on human behavior.

However, taken in the mass, human behavior becomes mysterious, often irrational, and frequently perverse. What does the banker think of another question—pretty girls, for instance? What do the children think of the United Nations? What does the publisher think of boxing? What is the reporter's view of scotch vs. bourbon?

The newspaper editor trying to make the day-to-day decisions required by his job is continually trying to fathom the mystery of his readers—or his hoped-for readers. He wants to see faces and attitudes in a mass audience that is huge, removed, anonymous, and immensely varied.

Rare editors—and I have worked for some myself—have an intuition about the aggregate taste and inclination of their unseen audience. This sense of audience is often also seen in successful performers and politicians. It is a marvelous but highly perishable gift in a period of rapid change. Ask Milton Berle or Carmine De Sapio.

Some editors fail of this intuition. But they behave in a similar manner. There is no more pitiable sight than the genius emeritus. He is dogmatic about news values, dogmatic about his readers, dogmatic about

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the whole human race—all the dogmatism based on little more than his own predilections.

Even with the dowsing rod of the exceptional editor, the readers will fool you. I am reminded of the last days of *Collier's* magazine, when the choice of a cover for each issue—the bid to the closely watched newsstand buyer—had become a crucial decision.

Until almost the end at *Collier's* it was traditional for the director of circulation to have a controlling role in the selection of covers. He was assumed to be the oracle of what would sell on the newsstands—pretty girls in bathing suits, rocket ships, monkeys. Of course, every time one of these selections flopped, there was always an alibi—you couldn't sell magazines in a heat wave, or during the Jewish holidays or at World Series time.

The choice of covers was finally turned back to the editors. The single decision of what to put on the cover of a magazine with a 4-million-plus circulation was one of the most baffling and frustrating experiences imaginable.

Once, in desperation, we ran an old woodcut of the San Francisco fire, which came off the presses an obnoxious muddy brown. That issue outsold both *Life* and *Look* on the newsstands. Something in that cover and the article it led into touched interest in people who did not ordinarily buy the magazine.

How to reproduce such a success is the kind of challenge that makes editing exciting. But it is never easy to isolate the key element. Some of the worst examples of newspaper journalism, I think—the phony crusade, the cliché series—are the result of a Pavlovian interpretation of previous success. Maginot Line editing deserves the same fate as the Maginot Line.

If an editor cannot fully trust his own hunches or always repeat his successes, what can he go on?

Researchers use a word for the reactions that come back to the fellow who is trying to get a story across—feedback. Every editor is familiar with feedback in the form of letters to the editor, inquiries from the business office, complaints from friends on the golf course, even suggestions from his wife. Such reactions at least provide comfort that the newspaper has not simply disappeared unread. But feedback can be dangerous, too.

The fellow who writes a letter to the editor is notoriously atypical. Wives may have developed an obscure interest in tide tables or bridge columns that tends to unbalance over-all judgment of news. And

the trouble with editors' close friends is that they are too much like the editors. One of the sad truths of our society is that the higher a man rises the more he risks getting out of touch.

Further, newspaper executives spend long hours at their desks or at conventions of their peers. When they get away from their desks and their friends they are still identified with their papers. What people say to them is colored by this. Almost everyone has some sort of ax to grind with the paper.

None of these, then, provide information that is objective, systematic, and ruthlessly honest. Research however, is mercilessly frank, and, at the same time, demonstrably impersonal.

Research cannot substitute for an editor's power of decision, nor for his creative capacity. But it can help an editor make fewer decisions in the dark, and focus his creative ability in promising directions.

Most editors have no trouble in formulating the broad, practical problems. How can I sell more papers in the suburbs? How do I attract young readers and hold them? How can I make complicated news more understandable to a general newspaper readership? The list is endless.

Research cannot come up with ready-made answers. It can break down such questions into manageable parts, which in turn can be explored.

Good reporters and good researchers have a great deal in common. Good researchers need to be good reporters. Too many of them these days are applying highly complicated statistical techniques to verify insignificant details proving the obvious.

There is a great deal of research effort already going on in this country into questions of communication—in journalism schools, in departments of psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, all the branches of the social sciences. There are ideas in these general findings that can whet the imagination of an editor. The synthesis and distribution of such findings is a prime need of newspapers.

Another need of newspapers is to stimulate new and better research in communication effects. Newspapermen as a rule have regarded the academic researcher with suspicion, especially when the work involved editorial matters. Part of it, I think, is hostility to the thought that good reporting is not all that is needed to uncover the facts in every situation.

It is important to remember in this connection that businesses that have learned to use research intelligently respect the fact that imaginative research cannot always be directed at some specific, practical problem. The fellow who discovered Nylon was *not*

assigned by du Pont to find a way to reduce runs in women's stockings.

Research disciplines involve techniques that are often beyond the competence — and sometimes the patience — of reporters. The shortest route to truth is not always the direct question, nor the spoken reply. The man-in-the-street interview is not — and never was — a way to find a true index to public opinion.

The trend toward single-ownership communities has, I think, made editorial research all the more critical for the newspaper business. Competition at least provides a concrete, if crude, measure of relative performance between competing papers — although circulation figures cannot tell what part of the paper appeals to the subscriber. When you are running the only paper in town, it is harder to find a yardstick.

But it can be done. Newspapers have reputations with their readers — reputations for fairness or bias, reputations for covering the news or distorting the news, reputations for completeness or skimpiness. Interesting new techniques are being developed for looking at a newspaper's character in its own community, and perhaps this is where every editorial research program ought to begin.

If the paper is being skimmed, or ignored, or resented, it is important to do something about it. And for an editor to do something about it, he first has to know something about it.

Editorial research has become, for today's newspapers, a bread-and-butter proposition. In the midst of such a reading explosion as that taking place in the paperback-book field, newspapers might well ask themselves if they are getting their share of the time spent on reading by persons who *already* like to read. This is one field where research can conceivably be of enormous help.

Another example: the definition of news itself. Is there a difference between news and information? Is the paper providing a service that meets its readers' requirements — or is it trying to impose its editors' preconceived ideas of news on an unresponsive customer?

Are all the newspaper tricks designed to create the illusion of immediacy any longer valid in an age where the newspaper is no longer the medium of immediacy? In the era of transoceanic television, what are the wire services accomplishing with second-day leads, simulated datelines and other devices that perhaps serve only to damage readers' confidence.

Good research, interpreted by a good editor, can make the difference between just another sheet and a truly distinguished and vital force in the community.

Abuses of research in inter-media warfare

By PETER BART

Each year millions of dollars are invested by advertising media in a curious contest of reciprocal denigration. Television attempts to prove that magazines are passé. Radio tries to demonstrate that newspapers are overpriced. Newspapers try to show that radio is strictly for the blue-jean set. And so it goes.

Charges and counter-charges are headlined in full-page newspaper ads, trumpeted over the airwaves, and even emblazoned across billboards. Meanwhile, some thoughtful leaders in advertising and communications are beginning to wonder whether things are getting out of hand. They are asking whether anyone really has anything to gain from inter-media sniping, and whether the entire "battle of the media" is not outdated.

The latter question in particular may be a puzzle to the casual observer. A decade or so ago, to be sure, when television was making its first spectacular gains, there might have been justification for shrill exchanges. Over the last decade, however, it has been clearly demonstrated that television is not going to put other media out of business. In 1961, for example, newspaper advertising still accounted for 30.6 per cent and magazines for 7.8 per cent of total advertising expenditures compared with 13.6 per cent for television. In five years, not one of them has altered its position by as much as two percentage points.

Why, then, does the battle continue to intensify?

One clue to the puzzle has been supplied by John Veckly, advertising director of the United States Steel Corporation and former chairman of the Association of National Advertisers. In an address before a magazine group, Mr. Veckly observed that, despite all the talk about the mercurial growth of the advertising business, advertising expenditures actually have been on a plateau — or a gentle slope — for the last five years. Meanwhile media rates have climbed more rapidly. The result has been heightened competition among media.

"The media," Mr. Veckly concluded, "are fishing in the same pool for the same tired fish." In their

Peter Bart, advertising columnist for The New York Times, wrote an assessment of the mass magazines in the spring issue of the Review.

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fishing, the media have generally been using this kind of bait:

NEWSPAPERS: In several recent studies, newspapers have sought to emphasize that their medium reaches a massive market (86.4 per cent of all households), that it is an established habit across the country, and that readers pay close attention to newspaper ads.

TELEVISION: In its presentations, it has laid stress on the sheer numbers at its command. It has also emphasized that television can move goods. "With television," asserts one motivational research study backed by the Television Bureau of Advertising, "the person expects to get emotionally involved."

RADIO: It has gone to great pains to stress its omnipresence. Several radio networks have been publicizing the A. C. Nielsen survey that found that transistor and other portable radios now add a weekly average of 36 per cent to plug-in-set listening. The Radio Advertising Bureau reports that two-thirds of all buying takes place before 6 p.m., and that during two-thirds of these peak buying hours more people listen to radio than watch television.

MAGAZINES: In its massive study, "A Study of the Magazine Market," the Magazine Advertising Bureau acknowledged that the total magazine market was about 7 per cent smaller than that of television. But it went on to argue that households more heavily

exposed to magazines than to other media have higher incomes and higher educational levels.

No one would challenge the right of any station or publication to place such arguments before potential advertisers. Something of a carnival atmosphere begins to develop, however, when media start putting out material seeking to belittle competitors. This has reached formidable proportions.

Some recent examples:

A Television Bureau of Advertising study, "The Changing Face of Magazines," purported to document "magazines' loss of favor with advertisers and reduced efficiency in delivering audiences."

A Radio Bureau of Advertising bulletin depicted a "newspaper dollar gap": Newspaper advertising rates rose 69.4 per cent from 1946 to 1961 while circulation rose only 21.7 per cent.

A study released by the New York *News* suggested that a substantial portion of the television audience did not watch commercials during the station breaks.

An advertisement placed by *Editor & Publisher* magazine in two New York papers criticized *McCall's* for equalizing its color and black-and-white rates and suggested that *McCall's* would bring upon itself "one of the worst production headaches in history." *McCall's* got a free page to rebut this contention.

This kind of attack has in turn given birth to more sophistry. When one medium publishes a study that is deemed harmful to a rival, the rival merely orders up another elaborate study to get fresh ammunition of its own. This results in statistical acrobatics.

Newspapers promote one study contending that 49 per cent of the population would "feel lost" with-

HOW MEDIA ARE RATED	Per Cent of Adults Who Give High Score to:			
	Newspapers	TV	Magazines	Radio
"Is first to introduce new products"	60%	71%	57%	45%
"Has interesting and imaginative ads"	54	66	67	37
"Gives a good description of the products I need"	60	57	59	40
"Shows good taste in the advertising it carries"	63	47	64	44
"Carries advertising that can be trusted"	58	41	57	40
"Tells you all you need to know when buying a new product"	50	40	48	34
"Sticks to the facts"	63	40	56	41
"Gives useful information"	71	58	65	54
"Tells me where I can buy things"	83	53	41	56
"Is meant for people like me"	61	52	50	45

Percentages as weapons: a page from a study published by the Bureau of Advertising of ANPA.

out newspapers while only 28 per cent would feel lost without television. Television counters with another suggesting that, were only one medium available, 42 per cent would favor television; 28 per cent, newspapers. Meanwhile, magazines point to still another survey, which reports that 75 per cent find magazines the "most useful" medium compared with 19 per cent for television.

To the casual reader or viewer, this might seem hopelessly baffling. To many advertising agency officials, however, the selected questions and statistical answers are simply boring; and they are boring because they have so little to do with media selection.

The major agencies have vast storehouses of material describing individual markets and media; some have even installed electronic computers to process these data. Media planners feed into the computer data describing the types of customers their clients would like to reach. The computers then disgorge a list of media. The agency media directors and corporate advertising managers must evaluate the answers turned out by the "electronic brains" and "bias" the material with their own hunches, but the introduction of the computers indicates the advertising

men's strenuous effort to make media-selection more scientific. And this effort is affected little by the shrill squabbling of the media.

In view of all this, is media warfare doomed? It would seem unlikely. For one thing, the big advertising bureaus sponsored by the rival media still have budgets to dispense and an interest in continuing the battle. Moreover, the inter-media conflicts help to disguise somewhat the growing trend toward concentration of media ownership. About one-third of all television stations in the country are owned by newspapers. And many diversified publishers—such as Time, Inc., The Washington Post Company, and Cowles Publications—have holdings in three or four media.

Despite such diversification, the business is increasingly competitive. The same soaring operating costs that have caused many advertisers to curtail their ad budgets also have affected the media. The only way to offset shrinking profits is to raise rates, and the only way to get higher rates is through hard selling.

To return to Mr. Veckly's metaphor, the media may be fishing for tired fish, but they must keep fishing nonetheless.

ANSWERING MR. MOSES

Moses on the press

Robert Moses, who stepped out of five New York State positions at once on January 1, has always been a man of many hats. Last August 5, in The New York Times Magazine, he donned, at the invitation of that publication, the informal eyeshade of critic of journalism. His article, "Moses Meets the Press—Head On," has now been answered by an editor who has observed much of Mr. Moses' public career. Excerpts from the article by Mr. Moses appear below; they are followed by a commentary by Alfred H. Kirchhofer, editor of the Buffalo Evening News.

Every now and then, on a dead day in the news, I am asked to comment about the press and government—that is, on the relations of the happy, articulate reporter to the hapless, smarting, tongue-tied bureaucrat. . . . I shall proceed with this dangerous

topic in the hope that the press may be disarmed by frankness and encouraged to enlarge the not inconsiderable area of common ground.

The newspapers which dish it out every day should have the stomach to take it. I do not hand reporters a copy of Milton's "Areopagitica" and tell them to be guided by it and, by the same token, expect them to give me Dale Carnegie's "How to Win Friends and Influence People" with the expectation that I might be a much nicer character if I patterned my life on it. I have been asked for frankness. Here it is. . . .

No newspaper, not even the justly famous New York Times, has the resources in men and facilities to employ genuine experts on every conceivable subject to convert spot news into the language and reliability of an encyclopedia. Those of us who demand space and objectivity for what we conceive to be important must realize that we are in competition with all the multifarious doings of mankind, that space is limited, that objectivity is for philosophers and that all that is fit to print is not necessarily news.

The recent practice of government to draw on capitol, city-hall and political reporters for secretaries

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to elected and other officials, and to incorporate them as public-relations counselors in the permanent bureaucracy, is supposed to protect the splayfooted Honorables, smooth the rough road of the commissar and bridge the yawning gap between government and the press. The trouble with this device is that the reporter alumnus has much less influence at Old Siwash than he is supposed to have. Access by back doors is barred because the press simply changes the locks, and the old blind, private telephone number doesn't answer because the editor got himself a new one.

One thing is sure—that the graduates of journalism who have become the press representatives of bureaucracy have done little to counteract the justified disgust of reporters and city editors with the stream of turgid current releases, graceless handouts and dull, statistical and unreasonable reports of the average government agency. . . .

The power of the press, radio and television to make or break any man in public life sufficiently prominent to be featured is awesome and often grossly unfair from the point of view of impartial presentation and the weighing of the ultimate verities. The press, for the ostensible purpose of keeping it honest, has done much to make public employment dangerous and unattractive. Certainly, decent, timid officials have been too often subject to the crushing weight of gratuitous derision and undeserved public obloquy. Detraction becomes a habit, and no one has yet found a cure for the common scold. . . .

Reporters who turn in factual and therefore unexciting stories are often sent back to get an "angle." If this is not readily found, they invent one. An eye-catching headline is added. Pretty soon the ant-hill has become a mountain. Then they look around for some reluctant Mahomet and demand that he stop being so damn arrogant and come to it. . . .

Engineering difficulties did not inhibit the building of the Panama Canal. It was stymied by mosquitoes and the yellow fever they carried with them. The battle for the Canal was won in a side engagement by a great sanitarian, Colonel Gorgas, who analyzed, trenced and oiled out the mosquitoes. I sometimes wish we had a few Gorgases to keep yellow journalists off our necks so that we would be free to do our work.

Admittedly, there are plenty of cases of insolence, incompetence, abracadabra, cowardice, equivocation and sheer ignorance in public office. Yet too much of the press builds up and tears down the same people—with an appalling indifference to both logic and human considerations. How often we have witnessed some sappy little fellow played up as a giant on the printed page and over the air, and then dropped like a hot cake. The poor fellow, beefed up by indigestible publicity, becomes an addict dependent on a drug he can no longer get. . . .

There is a notable tendency in the press to cut officials to one size in a sort of bed of Procrustes, to put on spiked shoes and cleats to jump on victims

when they are down, like the mob at the fights shouting with glee when an aging champion is beaten up and dethroned. There is also a potent minority of jackals and vultures who hang around the outskirts and hover over trouble spots to discover a wound or blood and then close in or swoop down for the kill. You may not altogether relish such metaphors, but remember that they were old when the Old Testament was written: "For whosoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together."

I speak feelingly, not for myself, but for sensitive second-string officials who lack rhinoceros hides, shrivel and get ulcers and coronaries when they feel the full impact of a slanted story, a snotty editorial, a caricature cartoon and selected poison-pen letters, all in one issue of a sensational newspaper. . . . There are, to be sure, laws of libel, but cynical counsel will tell you that invoking them is exactly like throwing mud into a fan. . . .

Cleverly and dramatically reflecting public opinion is one thing. Planting suspicion, poisoning minds, rousing the mob spirit, quoting out of context—these are cute tricks far removed from straight honest reporting. . . .

Cultivation of the press has become one of the major courses in the teaching of the black art of public relations. It is an art which reaches beyond contacts, personal acquaintances, convention, club and bistro friendships and the Tinker to Evers to Chance double plays, right into the counting rooms where advertising reigns and 15 per cent is the standard rate of interest.

I would not insinuate that advertising always, or even usually, controls news. It has, however, been known to influence it. On the whole, the independence of news and editorials has been a bright page in journalism but it is an independence which every honest publisher will admit needs constant watching. The Bible says that "where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." It is an adage which should be a constant warning. . . .

If I were to ask of newsmen any special favor or dispensation for my side, it would be to give a break to those in public office who try to get things done in their time with the instruments at hand, with the skill and courage they can muster, with perhaps an occasional vista of a better world, and, if possible, with a touch of humor. . . .

The press finds it easiest to lump together and label all irritating public officials as controversial, uncooperative, pugnacious and generally obnoxious, without any nice distinctions and qualifications and regardless of motivation and human chemistry. This makes for simplicity. The man is either a good guy or a bastard. As a matter of fact, there is quite a gap between a battler and a fanatic. The former goes after immediate objectives in which he honestly believes. The latter is an intolerant lout who confuses his cruelties with divine will.

The battler has a short memory. He believes in a periodic audit of fights, striking a balance, wiping the slate clean, canceling old debts and looking ahead to better times. The difficulty, of course, is to fix the

exact date of the audit. He can't stop right in the middle of a fight.

If you observe the battler smiling privately, you will know he is laughing at himself. The fanatic never laughs. The warrior is happy much of the time. The fanatic is in a chronic state of gloom and rage, wrath and tears.

I am duly grateful for the decency and forbearance of the press in the past, no doubt in the face of considerable provocation, and for the sportsmanship of *The Times* in giving me space with no Marquess of Queensberry rules and no holds barred. In the lodge, off the record, sub the rose, I've led a most interesting life, to which the press has contributed, usually most generously and sometimes unintentionally. At best, the press keeps us of the government on our toes and makes it possible for little officials to repay some of the immense debt we owe to our wonderful country for the opportunity to be forthright and independent.

Kirchhofer on Moses

Robert Moses is one of the most unusual men of our times — a great builder, organizer, and public servant. His principles never have been successfully challenged by any responsible source.

Of him I/we wrote when he was the Republican candidate for governor of New York in 1934:

Sincerity and straightforwardness are outstanding characteristics of Robert Moses. . . . Mr. Moses gets things done. He has initiative and enterprise without limit; and he has courage.

He is, without question, an outstanding, if not the foremost, authority on state and community parks, waterfront recreation spots, St. Lawrence and Niagara hydro power development, conservation, parkways, the 1964 New York World's Fair and kindred topics.

But in spite of his writings and speeches upon the subject — though his comment may be illuminating, interesting, indeed irritating — and his relatively infrequent brushes with the subject of his discussion, which he now tends to magnify, he has not the credentials to qualify as an expert upon the press and its responsibilities to the body politic.

In his immensely entertaining article, Mr. Moses intermixes, sometimes in a seemingly contradictory way, his view on the press in general, politics, press agents, a little folklore, radio-television, and politics.

All of these topics are fair game anywhere, anytime, "on a dead day in the news," for those who shoot from the hip.

It is not, as Mr. Moses opines, a matter of having the stomach to take criticism because newspapers

"dish it out every day." But it is a matter of being objective, and predicating conclusions upon accurate premises.

Gliding over these points makes it easy to be snappy in commenting about "the press and government." Bunching together articulate reporters and (hear this) tongue-tied bureaucrats, synthesizing the faults of the former and adding a little lustre to the latter, is a sort of man-bites-dog approach to the mores of the times.

In doing it this way, Mr. Moses demonstrates an awareness of some of the problems of a newspaper without really comprehending them. In his failure to be specific, in an article in which the editor's note indicated he was free to blow the lid, Mr. Moses is hardly fair to himself and does a disservice to the press as a whole. He thus helps create that prejudice, often based upon bias, which seeks for varying reasons of self interest or misinformation to undermine the esteem in which the newspaper press is held.

This reflects upon the character of many, many papers which are as far removed from his observations as the East Coast is from the West.

In this fashion Mr. Moses seems to be reaching for "the angle" he deplores in newspaper writing. It is one way of being as unfair as he says the press is in applying the lash to those he calls its hapless victims.

This is standard with many labor leaders and politicians but one would hope that Robert Moses would have a more fundamental understanding of the role of the press. Newspapers can't be unitized. Each publication is an entity, standing upon its own feet or pedestal. The standards of the *Times* can't elevate the sheet which practices them in reverse. Neither should such instances be used through broad generalization to tear down or belittle that body of the press which has high standards and lives up to them.

Mr. Moses says that "cleverly and dramatically reflecting public opinion is one thing. Planting suspicion, poisoning minds, rousing the mob spirit, quoting out of context — these are cute tricks far removed from straight honest reporting."

Isn't he here confusing editorializing with reporting — and where and who draws the line between "cleverly and dramatically reflecting public opinion" and "cute tricks far removed from straight honest reporting?" The editor or the public official with whom he or the public may be in disagreement? Furthermore, who uses these tricks, if tricks they be, more than some of our political friends?

It might be pertinent to remark that the editor or reporter who merely reflects public opinion, whether it is done cleverly and dramatically or otherwise, falls

AT ISSUE

far short of meeting his true obligation. Without sometimes leading or creating public opinion a newspaper merely becomes a statistical record, unworthy of the privilege accorded by the First Amendment. Many a newspaper campaign, waged for worthy ends, has encountered and had to overcome political stubbornness, indifference, or resistance — and been subjected in reverse to the abuse Mr. Moses says “the press” heaps upon others.

Mr. Moses' slanted reference to advertising insinuates there is something shady about it — and he does this in about the same way that he accuses the press of treating public figures by “planting suspicion, poisoning minds.” The advertiser's dollar certainly has been known to influence news content and judgments, as Mr. Moses asserts, but there are some very substantial cases on record where advertisers have been told to take their money and go thither. He makes no reference to them.

In a far greater sense than generally is realized advertising makes possible an independent press. A newspaper that is not economically self-sufficient dares not be independent — unless it operates under a subsidy, and then the question arises: Why is someone paying the bill? It may be a good or bad purpose, depending upon where you sit, but a subsidized press, in the sense that large or continuing deficits are underwritten, just does not go on for long here.

In fact, it is a sound generalization to say that the greater the financial stability of a newspaper, the greater is its integrity and editorial independence. Granting favors to advertisers just does not pay, no matter how gingerly Mr. Moses passes along the insinuation that advertising has “been known” to influence news.

This is such a shopworn, threadbare theme that it is surprising to find it in what in the main appears to be a discussion of metropolitan journalism circa 1962.

There is no valid reason why every paper should have, as Mr. Moses suggests, “genuine experts on every conceivable subject,” but many of their expert reporters, writers and editors do have enough “expertise” to take most abstruse subjects and make them more understandable to the average reader than Mr. Moses' “genuine experts” would be able to do.

To achieve this there always is an angle or an approach or theme, or emphasis, upon the main or key point. Sometimes a reporter, by reason of greater familiarity with the subject, naturally knows what this is.

Sometimes by the very reason that he is too close to the forest to see the trees he and readers benefit through the guidance of an editor. To suggest that this is sinister or deceptive brings into question all newspaper practice that aims for clarity and mature or seasoned evaluation of a news item.

The power of press, radio, and television would be awesome indeed, as he asserts, if it were used in union “to make or break any man in public life.” But where has this been done? This is a straw man. The charge definitely requires documentation, especially since in this assertion Mr. Moses is making the kind of innuendo he says the press makes about officials who have been frightened or flattened by criticism.

Mr. Moses' references to Colonel Gorgas, mosquitoes and the Panama Canal seem very remote from the subject, yet he uses them as an excuse to bring in the ugly term, “yellow journalists,” expressing the hope there might be a few Gorgases to keep them “off our necks so that we would be free to do our work.”

Why was the Panama Canal brought up?

Did Mr. Moses subconsciously refer to the newspaper campaigns in Erie and Niagara Counties to block the New York State Power Authority from building an open power canal to carry Niagara River water to the Lewiston generating station 5½ miles away?

Pressure of public opinion, as supported by — maybe generated by — and reported in the two leading newspapers in Buffalo and Niagara Falls forced the Power Authority — under Federal Power Commission rulings — to build a covered conduit instead of an open canal. It did increase the cost of the power project, a factor which Mr. Moses laments. But, there is every reason to expect he, too, eventually will concede that this type of construction is better.

Without these “yellow journalists” the Moses ditch would have been a blight to the entire area and anathema to the power project, which otherwise is a far-ranging blessing.

Mr. Moses apparently sees evil in press agency, in which cultivation of the press is “one of the major courses in the teaching of the black art of public relations.” And the adroit cultivation of this art has been practiced by some public authorities and agencies, sometimes with the aid of former newspaper people. But no one loses caste faster than such a person who expects a journal for which he worked to use his material if it is without merit in editorial judgment. This is one sure way not to open the portals to favorable press treatment.

This “black art,” which is not that at all, does not

merit blanket scorn or criticism any more than does "the press" as a unit. It is a development which in the state of today's business, financial — yes, political — activity is a practical necessity. How it operates — not whether — is the test of justification. It certainly is clear the State Power Authority, the New York World's Fair, General Motors or du Pont, which carry on the art ethically and competently, simply could not function in today's news world without a public relations set-up.

When editors in the metropolitan area, upstate New York or elsewhere in the nation are confronted by the public relations man they are able to turn a fishy eye upon a jaundiced product. In other words, a good editor is a coldly practical one when the practitioner of the "Black Art" looks for a favor.

The claim that the press builds up and tears down the same people in public office might be answered with the quip that in all this Mr. Moses emerges as a bigger figure. His feelings "for sensitive second string officials" might well be spared. Clothing them in the pureness of Sir Galahad, which is suitable to Mr. Moses, might make a pretty picture in this mundane age but somehow does not seem appropriate raiment for them.

It would be useful and helpful if from all this Mr. Moses were to suggest, beyond giving those in public office trying to get things done "a break," what he

would consider valid, proper criticism or comment.

He implies that any caricature, editorial or what he calls slanted story — though it might not seem so to the writer — is not proper exercise of responsibility.

It would seem, on the contrary, that his postulates would lead to complete surrender of a prime function of the press — to be that check upon government that no other instrument, not even radio or television as we know it today, can provide. Or as Charles Evans Hughes wrote:

The administration of government has become more complex. The opportunities for malfeasance and corruption have multiplied. Crime has grown to most serious proportions. And the danger of its protection by unfaithful officials and of the impairment of the fundamental security of life and property by criminal alliances and official neglect emphasize the primary need of a vigilant and courageous press, especially in great cities. The fact that the liberty of the press may be abused by miscreant purveyors of scandal does not make any the less necessary the immunity of the press from previous restraint in dealing with official misconduct.

And as if to vitiate all he has said, Mr. Moses concludes, in like vein, when he asserts "at best the press keeps us of the government on our toes." But not without having had his fling.

CONCISE BARTLETT'S FOR JOURNALISTS

Let's face it—all published surveys come out in favor of the people who pay for them... Once in a while I think that a six months' moratorium on all publication surveys—an agreement not to publish *any* figures—might be the greatest boon the industry could enjoy.—*Herbert R. Mayes, president of the McCall Corporation, in an address in Chicago, October 10, 1962.*

During my 62 years as an editor, no one has ever questioned my right to stand up for justice or freedom whenever they were under attack, either directly or indirectly. No one has ever attempted to bring pressure on me, commercial or otherwise, in an effort to silence me on any issue. No governmental or legislative action has ever been a threat to the press so far as I could discern. I believe that the greatest sin of the American press is the sin of omission rather than the sin of commission—the sin of refusing to take a stand on issues that might become too

"hot" to handle—*Thomas M. Storke, editor and publisher of the Santa Barbara News-Press, to the 1962 Lovejoy Convocation at Colby College, November 8, 1962.*

Most of the voters I talk with are far more biased in their political views than the newspapers they read. Whatever the newspapers do, most voters will continue to shut their eyes and ears to all except what they agree with.—*Samuel Lubell, political analyst, commenting on editorial endorsements in The Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, October 1, 1962.*

Tight military secrecy surrounded all movements. At Key West, the Navy's public-information officer quit answering his telephone at all, thereby depriving newsmen of a prime source of no comment.—*Newsweek, November 5, 1962.*

BOOKS

The oral essay

William Dean Howells wrote the obituary of the formal essayist about 1902.

Television allegedly wrote the obituary of the radio commentator about 1952. But wait—the eulogies were premature. The NBC and CBS radio networks are broadcasting “air essays,” as NBC calls them, as often as eight times a day. NBC calls its programs “Emphasis.” On CBS they are “Dimension.” Although the two are not exactly alike in either concept or treatment, they continue in fresh guise and greater frequency the tradition of informed comment that network radio has nurtured since the 1930's.

The new idea is simple. You give the news and public-affairs staff a general assignment: “Fill eight or ten 5-minute programs every day, five days a week, with interesting personality sketches, vignettes of life on your regular news beat, and humorous or satirical or lyrical thoughts that strike you.” At NBC, a news editor is in charge. All of the Emphasizers are newshands. Under its “Dimension” umbrella, CBS uses an even larger variety of material—some originated by the program department, some by news, and some by non-news people, even Betty Furness.

CBS inclines to regular beats like “One Woman’s Washington,” with Nancy Hanschman Dickerson; “In Hollywood,” (lore rather than gossip) with Ralph Storey; “This Week in Business,” with Harry Reasoner. These are programmed alongside “The Moscow Scene,” with Marvin Kalb; and “Special From London,” with Alexander Kendrick. “Sidelights” is a daily staff-produced feature delivered by Charles Collingwood; it is interpretative and usually close to the news.

In roughly three years, these bright packages have won popular and commercial success. NBC had its entire “Emphasis” series sold out to commercial sponsors soon after launching it; CBS has had much the same experience. Audience reaction has been highly favorable. Requests for transcripts from listeners occasionally reach surprising proportions.

Beyond this, what are “Emphasis” and “Dimension?” Are they indeed essays? Literally, the word

means “an attempt” or “trial.” An essay deals with the author’s experiences, opinions, reflections, and moods, hopefully in polished and highly individual style. Most NBC “Emphasis” programs meet these specifications tolerably well. The network obviously has the essay form in mind. Some CBS “Dimension” programs fit the pattern; others are simply “reports.”

For style, the radio essay relies in part upon nuances of vocal presentation, a point on which both “Emphasis” and “Dimension” score. Joseph C. Harsch, NBC’s London correspondent, speaks his piece with such suavity that his bowler and rolled umbrella seem to come right out of the speaker. There are not many newsmen who write with the polish of Daniel Schorr. Collingwood’s rich baritone is *The New Yorker’s* “Talk of the Town” personified; his helpers apparently are inspired to write accordingly.

The occasion for these meditations is the appearance of a book, *The Best of Emphasis* (The Newiman Press, Westminster, Maryland, \$3.95). The pieces look almost as good as they sound. But they are best when “rendered” by the author; no one can tell a yarn like Morgan Beatty, or give acidity quite the tang imparted by David Brinkley.

Perhaps inevitably, considering the volume turned out, some of both the “Emphasis” and “Dimension” programs leave the listener saying “So what?”

Item: “If you’ve been looking for a machine that will peel a banana for you, there’s a company in Bent Arrow, Arkansas, that can help you.”

Item: “The rodeo clown is not primarily a comic figure; he’s there mostly to distract the charging bulls.”

The best of both networks’ programs are the personal experiences, personality profiles, and the behind-the-scenes vignettes. Pauline Frederick’s emotional tribute to Dag Hammarskjöld is classic in line and form. David Brinkley’s satirical attack on government questionnaires, Robert McCormick’s account of the troubles of the Washington press corps with a certain world figure who never sticks to his prepared speech text—these give the listener solid fare. Some of them are clearly editorials, but at least they do not masquerade as news.

More effort should be devoted to illuminating major national and international news to provide the background missing from the all too short hourly newscasts. But let us be grateful for small favors. NBC and CBS have a right to be proud of these programs; they do add emphasis and dimension to the news. Possibly, as radio continues to adjust to the Television Age, they are harbingers of better things to come.

RICHARD D. YOAKAM

On confidential sources

IPI SURVEY: Professional Secrecy and The Journalist. Published by the International Press Institute, Zurich. Distributed in the United States by Frederick A. Praeger, New York.

The International Press Institute has conducted a competent and detailed survey of the right of the journalist to invoke professional secrecy. Its study shows that a legal right to protect journalistic informants exists in some form in Austria, the Philippines, Sweden, Norway, the German Federal Republic, Switzerland and twelve states of the United States, with two others committed in principle. The only complete legal protection, however, is in Austria.

The virtue of the IPI survey is not in its thorough analysis of how well, or how poorly, journalists are protected in this matter, but rather in its discussion of all aspects of the situation. This includes a questionnaire answered by 123 journalists in twenty-four countries, which shows that journalists themselves are by no means certain that complete or partial legal protection is necessary or desirable. Such protection is, of course, persistently advocated by most journalistic societies. Yet, as the study shows, the press of the United Kingdom seems to have had little difficulty in protecting its informants in recent years although professional secrecy has no legal recognition there. In fact, contrary to popular belief, the right does not extend in Britain even to priests in confessional, nor to medical advisers. Moreover, in that part of the United States where there is no legal protection for confidences given to the press, newspapers appear to have been no less energetic in pushing ahead with campaigns in the public interest.

The IPI, in short, has performed a service by recognizing the minority point of view in this ancient dispute — the point of view that contends that any law designed to regulate the press, even for its presumed benefit, is likely in the long run to prove to be an unwise law. Besides, a protection statute would always be open to abuses by unscrupulous writers whose "sources" are imaginary.

The reviewers: Richard D. Yoakam is an assistant professor of journalism at Indiana University, with wide experience in radio. John Hohenberg, a professor of journalism at Columbia, is the author of The Professional Journalist. Short review is by Louis M. Starr, associate professor of journalism at Columbia and the books editor.

A lack of legal protection throws the press entirely on its own resources and forces it to rely on its own power; but that is not necessarily bad. Now and then, this lack will produce a legal martyr, as in the case of Martin Mooney of the old New York *American*, who went to jail rather than disclose his sources in a policy-racket inquiry to a grand jury. However, it also can produce a George Thiem, who needed no law to convince officials of Illinois to work with him and the *Chicago Daily News* to obtain the evidence on which a state auditor was sent to jail for a million-dollar fraud. Perhaps one of the differences is that the courts invariably are respectful of inquiries, based on anonymous sources, that produce results.

The IPI's own conclusion is worth reporting:

"It seems certain that there will be new efforts, chiefly instigated by journalists, to achieve a solution through statutes. Some may succeed, as some have already . . . Meanwhile, in countries where the press is both free and responsible, it may be expected that the press will not be greatly hampered in the performance of its function."

JOHN HOHENBERG

Somewhat revised

THE PRESS AND AMERICA: An Interpretative History of Journalism. Second Edition. By Edwin Emery. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. \$8.95.

The summer, 1962, *Review* took note of a new edition of Frank Luther Mott's *American Journalism*. Now comes a fresh edition of its only close rival, first published in 1954 as the joint work of Professors Emery and Henry Ladd Smith. This revision is the work of Emery alone.

Like Mott, he has brought up to date bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter, but unlike him, Emery has recast a few text pages to take some of this new research into account. Thus Leonard Levy's startling thesis, that by freedom of the press the authors of the First Amendment meant only freedom from prior restraint (and not freedom to criticize the government) wins acceptance in a general history for the first time.

Much other new work goes unheeded. The idea of integrating journalism history with the main stream of national history sounds laudable, but the first half of this book remains one long illustration of the difficulty in carrying it out.

TOPICS

Recruiting the young

FINDING A SUCCESSFUL CAREER IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER BUSINESS. American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation, New York. \$20 for 100 copies.

Reflecting its increasing concern with the acquisition of new newspaper talent, the ANPA has published a concise pamphlet, which is being sent (says the release) to "16,000 guidance counselors." The pamphlet describes newspaper work in all departments, with the most space, thirteen pages, devoted to reporting and editing. The material commendably avoids obvious sugar-coating and correctly emphasizes recent improvements in salaries and working conditions. It is disturbing, though, to find an obtrusive piece of distortion, in the use made of the recent Associated Press Managing Editors' survey of editorial employees. The pamphlet notes that participants in the survey rated newspaper work "at the top in enjoyment, in freedom from routine and in contact with interesting people." But there is no indication here that the respondents, rating ten professions, placed newspaper work third in satisfaction, fifth in importance, sixth in security, and eighth in opportunity for leisure, in income, and in opportunity for advancement.

A sermon

"The Real Sins of the Press." By Lester Markel. HARPER'S MAGAZINE, December, 1962.

To readers of the *Bulletin* of the American Society of Newspaper Editors or to those who have heard the writer (who is Sunday editor of *The New York Times*) on one of his speaking engagements, the material here will be familiar. The "real sins" of newspapers, Mr. Markel writes, are: (1) too many convey entertainment rather than information; (2) too many fail to make important news understandable; (3) they have lost their leadership of public opinion; (4) they do a poor job of research and self-analysis; (5) their workers are inadequately educated and paid. The only living practitioners of journalism mentioned are Walter Lippmann, Fulton Lewis, and Drew Pear-

son — and all in one sentence. The only institutions mentioned are associations of publishers and editors.

Maybe this lack of specifics indicates that the article is basically theoretical and philosophical. But it is more likely to strike a reader as being like a hell-fire sermon — excoriating sin, not sinners.

Programming and Ratings

"Minow Should Watch His Step in the Wasteland." By Harry Kalven Jr. and Maurice Rosenfeld. FORTUNE, October, 1962.

Two lawyers — one a professor at the University of Chicago, the other president of a company operating a Chicago FM station — tell why they believe that the Federal Communications Commission should abandon its tendency to become involved in judging television programming. In particular, they attack the "quota" system, which demands broadcast material in specified categories as a condition for licensing or re-licensing. The authors believe that policing of these categories, even if intensified, would fail to raise program quality.

Finally, they view with alarm the lack of support among intellectuals of an anti-government-control position. They state effectively a case that has had too little hearing outside the industry in the rush of warmth for the attractive vigor of Newton Minow.

THE INTELLIGENT MAN'S GUIDE TO BROADCAST RATINGS. By Martin Mayer. An Advertising Research Foundation Report.

The twenty-five pages of this pamphlet speak plain language. In 1961, Martin Mayer, author (among other works) of *Madison Avenue, U.S.A.*, was asked to prepare an article on ratings based on a technical report submitted to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. The costs were borne by the three major networks. Mr. Mayer tells what present broadcast ratings measure, as opposed to a theoretically ideal service (which, he says, would have to be staffed by 500 objective ghosts, invisible to viewers and listeners). His recommendation is the establishment of an independent Office of Research Methodology, which would try to close the gap between today's methods and the perfect ghosts.

"Topics" is a new department in the Review that will be devoted to assessing miscellaneous writings about journalism. It was written by James Boylan.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

LETTERS

More on thalidomide

TO THE REVIEW:

We assume that the "Passing Comment" remarks ["Holes in the System"] in your fall, 1962, issue concerning the lag in reporting the thalidomide story pertain primarily to the lay press. It should be of interest that there has now developed a considerable machinery of specialized medical journalism which deserves consideration in any examination of "lag" problems.

The first hint of the thalidomide story was published for U. S. physicians in the issue of *Medical Tribune* dated December 25, 1961 — almost two months before *Time* magazine's first report. In its issue of April 20, 1962, *Medical Tribune* published for physicians a full account of Dr. Helen Taussig's paper before the American College of Physicians, with two photographs of thalidomide deformities. Thereafter this medical newspaper kept American doctors abreast of all developments and wound up the year with a series of special articles in which nine of the leading world authorities on teratogenicity [roughly, deformed birth — *Ed.*] expressed their views on the medical and scientific aspects of these problems.

The fact that there is a specialized press dealing with medical developments the world over must be fitted into the questions raised in the last paragraph of your commentary, particularly the question: "Is it purely a matter of alertness?"

Because of the nature of the professional and scientific problems dealt with in a paper like *Medical Tribune*, extra precautions must be taken to assure absolute accuracy

and objectivity. We have, for example, a staff of physician consultants who literally ride herd on all copy for medical sense and accuracy. These same physicians are also constantly utilized by the lay staff to help judge the scientific validity of the stories being worked on or proposed for assignment. The entire operation has thus become a highly refined piece of teamwork between trained newspaper people and scientists, with clearly defined areas of responsibility for each group.

Medical Tribune reaches a great many newspapers and news agencies and thus becomes one medium for alerting the press generally. As the public interest in medicine continues to increase, as it has so dramatically in recent years, we feel sure that a health collaboration will develop between the specialized medical press and the general press. This will be all for the good as long as the standards of reporting are closely guarded in this delicate area of public interest.

FREDERICK SILBER
Managing editor
Medical Tribune
New York

Question of leakage

TO THE REVIEW:

I have several questions to ask Ben H. Bagdikian about one sentence in his article, "The Morning Line," in your fall issue. That sentence reads: "Chancellor Adenauer has successfully leaked stories to Flora Lewis, the *Post's* correspondent in Germany (and wife of the *Times* correspondent), and later, to Daniel Schorr of CBS, that embarrassed the United States and produced changes wanted by the Germans."

"Chancellor Adenauer has..." What source told you it was Chan-

cellor Adenauer, or was this supposition successfully leaked in Washington?

"successfully leaked stories..." Do you mean that Adenauer goes around trying to leak stories, only occasionally with success? Perhaps like the Ancient Mariner, who stoppeth one of three? Do you believe that the reporter, as leakee, plays as passive a role as you suggest?

"...to Flora Lewis, the *Post's* correspondent in Germany (and wife of the *Times* correspondent)..." Why do you consign husband Sydney Gruson to a parenthetical and anonymous oblivion, considering that he has been more successful than either of the others in being leaked at, or to?

"...and later to Daniel Schorr of CBS..." What do you mean, later? Do you mean that I accept second-day leaks, or that I got into the leaking game at a subsequent period?

"...that embarrassed the United States..." If Mr. Bagdikian is thinking of the stories I have in mind, no one was more embarrassed than the West German government, which is still investigating the sources of some of them.

"...and produced changes wanted by the Germans." The outstanding "leak" of the past year concerned the American idea of an international access authority for Berlin. Chancellor Adenauer has reluctantly agreed to this idea—a change wanted by the Americans.

It is with some amusement and bitterness (but probably more of the latter than the former) that reporters who work hard to ferret out information, checking, prodding, surmising and building up a story from a great variety of sources, see their efforts summed up in the facile phrase, "successfully leaked."

DANIEL SCHORR
CBS News
Bonn

The prayer decision: networks' first stories

In the article "Journalism and the School-Prayer Decision" the fall Review presented excerpts from early stories on the decision transmitted by the two major wire services. Stories broadcast by two of the three major networks were received too late for inclusion. (The third network, CBS, did not respond.) Transcripts of early ABC and NBC broadcasts are printed below. They can be compared with the AP and UPI stories reprinted on page 6 of the fall issue. All but the final item — from NBC local radio, New York — appear subject to the Review's comment on the newspaper accounts: The stories "were put forth to the public in forms as short as to cause even those predisposed to support the decision to misjudge its breadth."

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY (RADIO)

12:55 p.m.

The U.S. Supreme Court wound up its current term today with a flourish, handing down several decisions that will almost certainly remain controversial for some time to come. . . . For one thing, the Court ruled today that the offering of a twenty-two-word daily prayer prescribed by New York State in its public schools violates the United States Constitution.

3:55 p.m.

The Supreme Court has ruled six to one that public schools in New York State are violating the Constitution when they open their day's schedule with a state-authored twenty-two-word prayer. The majority noted the Constitution forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion — and that's that. . . . The unconstitutional prayer reads as follows: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country."

5:55 p.m.

The United States Supreme Court has ruled that it is a violation of the Constitution when a public-school teacher leads her pupils in prayer — if that prayer is prescribed by the state. In reading the decision, Justice Hugo Black said, "When the power, prestige and financial support of the government is placed behind a particular religious belief, the indirect coercive pressure upon religious minorities to conform to the prevailing officially approved religion is plain."

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY (RADIO)

2 p.m.

The Supreme Court — in a far-reaching decision — has ruled as unconstitutional the recitation by public-school children of an official state prayer in New York State classrooms. The 6-1 decision cited the concept of church and state.

5:06 p.m.

The Supreme Court wound up its current term with decisions of top importance. Most newsworthy: The high tribunal ruled out — as unconstitutional — all public-school prayers. The 6-to-1 decision — delivered by Mister Justice Black — said this: "It is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of American people . . ."

NBC (LOCAL RADIO, NEW YORK)

1:05 p.m.

Headlines: Supreme Court rules that prayer recital in New York public schools is unconstitutional. . . .

More on today's six-to-one Supreme Court decision . . . that recital of an official state prayer in public schools in New York is unconstitutional: Five parents with children in school in New-Hyde Park, Long Island, challenged the prayer recital, which has not been compulsory. The Supreme Court majority said that compulsory or not, using the public-school system to encourage recital of the prayer is wholly inconsistent with the First Amendment to the Constitution, which provides that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion. Justice Hugo Black wrote the majority opinion. Justice Potter Stewart — the only dissenter — wrote that the majority misapplied a great constitutional principle. Justices Felix Frankfurter and Byron White did not participate in the decision.

Bagdikian's reply

I'm puzzled by Mr. Schorr's assumption that I wrote disapprovingly of his work. Certain phrases look accusatory to him when they strike me as descriptive of inevitable practices in the work of any independent and sophisticated diplomatic correspondent. Leaks are leaks: I'm sure Mr. Schorr will not say that his excellent reporting has been without benefit of private and unattributed conversations with authoritative people in the German government, nor that all these people are fools or trying to damage their own country. "Later to Daniel Schorr" refers back to "stories," not one particular "story." And "embarrassed the United States" certainly is true: Stories originating from the highest levels of the Adenauer government caused anguish in Washington; it was proper and important that these stories be reported. In shortening my article it was necessary to drop out a parenthetical sentence that immediately followed the reference to Flora Lewis and Mr. Schorr: "(The correspondent or newspaper editor who begins to suppress items embarrassing to his own government might study the case of the London *Times* that became so 'responsible' to the government that it became almost indistinguishable from it and lost a vital element in its value.)"

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
Washington

Wasted energy

As an impartial but interested observer of the Twin Cities metropolitan newspaper scene, I'd like to compliment Mitchell V. Charnley on his resumé of the brief career of the *Minneapolis Herald* ["The 'Little Fellow,'" Fall, 1962].

The men who whopped up the *Herald* overnight were obviously men of great energy and dedication; it is too bad they could not have turned that energy toward creation of a good metropolitan daily, instead of using it to pro-

claim their virtues and downgrade the opposition.

As I heard another former *Star* and *Tribune* staffer put it, during the days when the strike was over and the *Herald* was busily attacking the Cowles papers in each issue, "You can't make a career out of abusing the competition."

He was right.

SCOTT DONALDSON
Editor, *Sun-Suburbanite*
Bloomington
Minnesota

P.S. By the way, the *Herald*, early in its life, used one 8-column banner headline atop page one that led into the play story of the day, and which may have set some kind of record for shoddy journalism. The headline read:

HERALD FORCED TO RATION
ADVERTISING

Fresh listeners

A footnote to Ben H. Bagdikian's article, "The Morning Line," in the fall issue: Jack Gould, television critic of *The New York Times*, pointed out in an article of December 6 that the "Today" program on the National Broadcasting Company serves a function very much like that Mr. Bagdikian attributed to morning newspapers in Washington. The show, Mr. Gould wrote, "is by now a recognized means of making certain that one's views reach important ears at the White House, in the Cabinet and in Congress. . . . For the guest celebrity on 'Today' the advantages are obvious. First, there is an opportunity to reach the major minds of the Capitol while they still retain their morning freshness and, second, there is the assurance that one's words will be heard in their raw and intended state sans any headlines or reportorial interpretation."

That jeremiad

TO THE REVIEW:

Bernard Roshco's dismantling of the Jenkin Lloyd Jones speech ["An Anti-Jeremiad," Fall, 1962] was a shining peak of excellence in the old worn-down mountains of journalistic criticism.

GERALD GRANT
The Washington Post

TO THE REVIEW:

Commenting belatedly on the Jenkin Lloyd Jones speech: I was among the feeble voices that protested the speech when it first appeared. I heard it delivered to a group of editors in Birmingham; later, the Birmingham *Post-Herald* reprinted the speech. The letter response was rather overwhelming. After perhaps forty letters praising the speech were carried, I wrote a critical letter. Then the letter-writers (mostly the chronic variety) forgot about what a great guy Jones was and turned their wrath on me for saying he wasn't. One writer hinted darkly that my loyalties lay somewhere other than to the United States. Another said I was simply ignorant. Still another suggested that I was obviously suffering from the moral decay that bothered Mr. Jones.

In retrospect, I find what Mr. Jones said not too alarming; it is the response to it that frightens the hell out of me.

RAY JENKINS
Managing editor
Alabama Journal
Montgomery

Mr. Jenkins' letter to the *Post-Herald* said, in part:

"The general tenor and tone of Mr. Jones' talk is a loss of faith in American institutions; he does not agree with the philosophy of Jefferson that American institutions were built to stand against the assault of social and political evil for all time. . . . As I witness the thrilling vitality of this nation, it is difficult to see the chimeras that trouble Mr. Jones. On the contrary, it's when someone talks about imposing his concept of morality upon those who reject it that I become alarmed."

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

FOLLOWING UP

1962 voting turnout: no change

In the fall issue, Angus Campbell, director of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan, presented answers to the question, "Has Television Reshaped Politics?" He found that the last decade's coverage of politics by television had not appreciably increased the electorate's interest or participation in politics over levels reached during the rise of radio. Because his article was prepared before last November's elections, the Review asked Dr. Campbell to comment on the significance of the latest turnout—the percentage of voters in the total potential electorate. Here is his response:

Despite the impression given by election-evening reports of heavy turnout in various parts of the country, the actual proportion of the electorate voting in the recent Congressional elections does not appear to have been larger than it was in 1958. The count is still incomplete, but so far as one can tell at this point, the total vote for candidates to the House of Representatives will run about 43 per cent of the adult population. The total number voting was higher than it had been in 1958, but this increase does not appear to be larger than might have been expected from the increase in population during the intervening years.

While the complete reports may amend this estimate slightly up-

ward, it is apparent that there was no significant breakthrough in voter turnout in 1962. As usual there were heavy votes in some states, such as Michigan and Pennsylvania, where hotly contested statewide races tended to inflate the Congressional vote. But other states, such as New York and Ohio, which had produced heavy votes in 1958, slid off substantially from their previous levels. The picture nationally was one of balancing gains and losses, reflecting the impact of local candidates and issues in the individual states.

The 1962 experience demonstrates again the impressive stability of the off-year vote. In contrast with Presidential elections, the vote in off years varies much less in movement from one party to the other and, despite the greater latitude for change from the relatively low off-year level, it also varies somewhat less in the proportion of the total electorate who turn out. The off-year elections are essentially state contests and, while there may be wide fluctuations from year to year in individual

states, these tend to cancel each other out so that the national totals typically show very little change.

The failure of dramatic national events to move the off-year vote has seldom been more clearly demonstrated than it was in 1962. The Cuban crisis virtually crowded the campaign off the front page in the two weeks before the election, but it seems to have had very little effect on partisan preferences, as reported by before-and-after Gallup polls, or on inclination to vote, as shown by the turnout figures.

We can safely assume that the mass media must have reached a very large proportion of the public with their heavy coverage of the Cuban news during that two-week period. Apparently, however, the message the public received from this exposure did not alter its perception of political alternatives or heighten its sense of political urgency. One may wonder how it would have responded if the Cuban episode had taken a less favorable turn than it did. Fortunately, this is a question to which we do not have an answer.



"Now, with just another small switch —"

Herblock
in *The Washington Post* (1960)

Flattened predictions

Generally, forecasters did well predicting the 1962 elections. But a few, in demonstrating their knowledge of every corner of the country, were tripped up by the electorate, as follows:

From Time's "Senate Scoreboard," October 26:

SAFE DEMOCRATIC SEATS—12

Alabama. The Republican Party is putting on its most vigorous performance in years, hitting at the Kennedy Administration's armed intervention in neighboring Mississippi. But the G.O.P. has no serious hope of unseating Democrat Lister Hill.

Winner: Lister Hill, but with only 50.8 per cent

Tom Wicker in The New York Times, November 1:

In Indiana, Republican Senator Homer E. Capehart was a persistent advocate of strong action against Cuba and was attacked by President Kennedy as an "armchair general." He is expected to win over strong Democratic opposition, since the Cuban crisis undoubtedly helped him.

Winner: Birch E. Bayh, Democrat.

A pair from U. S. News & World Report, November 5:

Vermont. A clean sweep for the Republicans is the prospect in Vermont, with the re-election of Senator George D. Aiken, Governor F. Ray Keyser, Jr., and Representative Robert T. Stafford.

Winners: Aiken and Philip H. Hoff, Democrat.

Rhode Island. Democrats, as usual, have things all their own way in Rhode Island. Governor John A. Notte, Jr., is to be re-elected together with 2 Democratic members of the House.

Winner: John H. Chafee, Republican.

Matter of style

A well-known newspaper trade magazine habitually indulges in the following quirk when referring to a rival medium:

tv-Fair Trial Question Goes To High Court

(The magazine, incidentally, is called e&p.)

the lower case

Public-service department (continued)

The big news of the day, as found in the San Francisco Chronicle for January 7:

FAT VENUS UNVEILED

Her Amazing Story

--'I am Born Again'




THE VOICES OF THE WEST

San Francisco Chronicle

MONDAY, JANUARY 7, 1962

10 CENTS

Rev. Dulles

New President Named at USF

The Rev. Charles M. Dulles, a son of the Rev. John G. Dulles, who was the first president of the United States, was named as the new president of the United States at the University of San Francisco today.

Inaugural Rites Today For Brown

At 10:30 a.m. today, the inauguration of the new president of the United States, John F. Kennedy, will be held at the University of San Francisco.

A Challenge To Women

The women of the United States are being challenged to a new era of freedom and equality, according to a report from the United States Department of the Interior.

The Fat Venus Tells Her Story

A new book, "The Fat Venus," tells the story of a woman who was once a famous beauty and is now a famous figure.

Angry U.S. Report on 20-Cent Viet Bungling

The United States has issued a report on the 20-cent Viet bungling, which is a report on the Viet bungling.

Jury Urges Report on 20-Cent Viet Bungling

The jury has urged a report on the 20-cent Viet bungling, which is a report on the Viet bungling.

The New Wheels Turn in Capital

The new wheels are turning in the capital, which is a report on the new wheels.

Wonderful Weather

The weather is wonderful, which is a report on the weather.

Washington Report

The Washington report is a report on the Washington report.

THE INDEX

The index is a report on the index.

Newspaper biz

The following items were offered by the National Newspaper Promotion Association as "miscellaneous ideas" for National Newspaper Week:

Have a drawing. Doesn't matter what you give away as long as you promote it and it's free.

Leave holes of white space in one issue of your paper where local news pictures would ordinarily be placed. In the following issue publish the left out picture.

Alert local clergy to appropriate tie-ins for the Sunday during National Newspaper Week. This is their chance to pay back the favors they've asked you for all year.

Take a roll of newsprint and lay it end to end on streets through the town. Run a photograph on the front page of a carrier looking at the role as it stretches through the streets.